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After 4 Weeks

Arab League Fails to Halt Amal Attack

Arab League foreign ministers meeting at an extraordinary session of the Arab League in Tunis June 8 failed to produce any effective mechanism for stopping the brutal assault against the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The Arab League meeting was the culmination of political efforts that have been taking place around the Arab world in an attempt to stop the 27-day old "war of the camps."

Only seven Arab countries attended the meeting, convened by the Arab League to discuss the "war of the camps" at the request of PLO Chairman Arafat. Lebanon boycotted the meeting. The Syrian delegate to the meeting, foreign minister Farouq al-Shara', walked out of the conference when PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat arrived. Arafat was expelled from Syria in 1983, following a long and bitter controversy with the Syrian regime.

The meeting ended after two days with a statement urging an end to the fighting and the siege on the Palestinian refugee camps of Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila. The statement also urged the warring parties to facilitate entry of food and medicine to the camps to save the wounded and control disease which is spreading due to unevacuated corpses. It also called for the release of all prisoners captured by both sides.

The Arab League meeting rejected a bill by Arafat to set up a special investigative committee to look into the fighting. The League instead ordered its Secretary-General Chadli Quleibi to travel to Beirut to mediate an end to the conflict.

The "war of the camps" in Beirut which has so far claimed close to 1000 lives and 4000 casualties, entered its fourth week with the Palestinian defenders of Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila refugee camps making progress in their battle against Shi'ite Amal militias. The Palestinian-Shi'ite fighting also expanded June 11 when Amal clashed with militias from the Druze Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), giving the Druze militias a more active role on the side of the Palestinians. In an attempt to reduce pressure on the camps the Lebanese Murabitoun militias and Palestinians located in the mountains surrounding Beirut attacked Amal positions throughout West and South Beirut. The escalation in the fighting occurred after the Arab League met in Tunis but failed to put an end to the fighting.

The Arab League

A Palestinian military spokesperson said June 12 that the Palestinian fighters and the Druze militias were able to establish contact between southern Beirut and the southern areas of Khaldeh on the coastal road. This development, the spokesperson said, followed clashes between Amal and the Druze in West Beirut which left three dead and more than 48 wounded. The spokesperson did not elaborate on whether this contact means the refugee camps have broken the siege imposed on them since the beginning of the Amal onslaught May 19 or if the Druze have now entered the war on the side of the Palestinians.

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Knesset Committee Lifts Miari's Immunity

The Israeli Knesset House Committee decided June 11 to lift the Parliamentary immunity of MK Mohammed Mi'ari, leader of the Progressive List for Peace, on the pretext he voiced support for the PLO and refused to condemn 'PLO terrorism.' The decision was attacked by many MKs as an infringement on freedom of expression. If the decision is satified by the full Knesset, this will be the second time the Knesset lifts the immunity of one of its members. MK Meir Kahane (Kach), whose advocacy of anti-Arab racism is well-known, was the first MK to have his immunity lifted earlier this year.

Mohammed Mi'ari at the Knesset

The voting was instigated by a complaint brought to the Knesset Committee by MK Mikhael Eitan (Likud) about Mi'ari's vocal support for the PLO during a commemoration for the late PLO Executive Committee member and exiled Hebron mayor Fahd al-Qawasmeh, in Jerusalem last February. The complaint was originally presented against two MKs — Mi'ari, and Tawfiq Zayyad from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), who both took part in the memorial ceremony. The hearing against Zayyad, which was held last

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Israel Bars Ex-Prisoners From Travel

The Israeli Interior Ministry issued two orders June 6 and 10 barring three former Palestinian political prisoners from the Galilee from leaving Israel for a period of one year.

The first order was issued against Zaid Bahloul, 50, and his son Tawfiq, 20, and the second against Walid Shehadeh from Nazareth. The three were serving long term sentences on security charges.

The Interior Ministry's orders said the travel restriction was imposed on the former prisoners because it considers that their "leaving the country would pose a threat to security."

The orders prompted strong condemnation from Arab lawyers who charged Israel with violating the agreement it signed with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command on May 20 regarding the exchange of prisoners. Nazareth Lawyer Aziz Shehadeh, father of Walid Shehadeh, called the order "an attempt by the Israeli authorities to harass freed prisoners on old charges they were sentenced for." Several Arab lawyers plan to petition the Israeli High Court regarding this issue.

Meanwhile, 30 former prisoners from the occupied West Bank and Gaza are still awaiting legal procedures concerning their status here. The 30 are threatened with deportation because they allegedly were not included in a census conducted in the occupied territories shortly after the 1967 war.

One of the ex-prisoners, Mohammed Hasan Aziz from the Bethlehem district, received a three week extension on his stay in the West Bank. The extension was granted by the Bethlehem military governor following the intervention of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Some of the released who had been in prison since the early days of the occupation in 1967 say they were included in the census and possess the right papers to prove it. The Israelis refuse to accept these papers as official documents and insist on deporting the ex-prisoners to Jordan.

The 30 ex-prisoners, who were among 600 released on May 20 in the occupied territories and within the 'green line,' were given only 21 days to stay with their families even though the agreement between Israel and the PFLP-GC clearly states that those who chose to stay should be given this right and requires Israel not to harass any of them on account of their previous records.

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In Wake of Student Clashes

BZU Cancels Semester, Dismisses 5 Students

by Said al-Ghazali

Academic life at Bir Zeit University came to a halt last week following the administration's decision to cancel the second semester and close down the university.

The university closure came in the aftermath of student violence rooted in a controversy between student blocs inside and outside the student council.

The Crisis

The BZU student council sponsored a festival called "Palestine Week" May 16. In response, two student blocs which are not represented on the council, the Student Work Front and the Progressive Student Bloc, decided to sponsor a festival entitled "Palestine Progressive Week" and scheduled it for May 25, from 3:00 to 6:00 pm.

On May 25, representatives of the two student blocs applied to the student council for permission to organise the festival. The request was rejected. The two blocs, who had already made the necessary arrangements for their festival, moved to the assembly hall inside the science college on the new campus to begin activities at 3:00 pm, notwithstanding the student council's response.

Student council members and their followers then flocked to the science college and surrounded it. Negotiations between the two conflicting student groups, those inside the college and those surrounding it, were initiated by some Palestinian mediators and university officials. The students inside the college agreed to leave on the condition that those outside the building would move aside to let them pass.

At this point, however, some ex-prisoners released in the May 20 exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC arrived on campus. They had been invited by the Student Work Front and the Progressive Student Bloc to participate in the "Progresive Palestine Week." At that point, the student council followers surrounding the science college began to throw stones at the students inside the building.

Groups of students inside the science college left the building and began chasing the student council followers.

An hour later, other students from surrounding villages arrived to aid both sides. Curiously, Israeli soldiers at roadblocks near the new campus made no attempt either to intervene in the violence on campus or to block student reinforcements from arriving. The clashes continued until 11:00 pm. University officials estimated the property damage to be JD3000. Six students were wounded.

Aftermath

Despite the fact that student activists who represent various national political lines managed to contain violence and calm the tense atmosphere on campus with the help of prominent Palestinians, the administration issued a series of decisions which angered all the students and complicated the crisis at the university. First, they immediately responded by closing the university until further notice. University officials justified the closure as a "necessary procedure" to bring the events to a halt. In response, the students resolved their differences.

The next step came nine days later when the administration decided to cancel the second semester. The board of trustees endorsed the decision in ads published in local newspapers on June 6. The council of university deans also decided to dismiss five students, three of whom are members of the student council. On June 10, the deans' council formed a disciplinary committee of deans council members and the director of students affairs. The university also formed five committees to study university by-laws including these pertaining to the student council. No student or university employees' union member was on any of these committees. Strict orders were handed down to the university guards to bar any student, including members of the student council, from entering the campus.

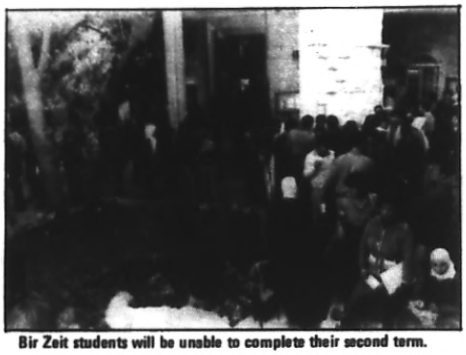
The students tried to meet with the university officials but failed. A few days after the incident, they sent three memorandums making their positions clear and calling for the establishment of an investigative committee to study what happened and issue careful decisions.

The students consider the semester cancellation a collective punishment imposed on all 2300 Bir Zeit students. University officials defended their decision by saying there have already been many interruptions in the semester and that students would have a low academic level if given credit for it.

One issue underlying the crisis and exacerbating it is the power struggle that has been going on between the students and the administration. Frequent arguments and rumours point to a conflict that had been going on for some time. During the first semester, students went on strike for more than one month against increased tuition fees and changes in the grading system. According to members of the student council, the issue of the grading system is now under discussion after this latest crisis.

The Administration's Position

Albert Aghazarian, head of the public relations office, defended the administration's view of the crisis. He said: "We must prevent the use of violence at the university campus. The council decided to punish five students after we studied the matter well. The five students were dismissed because they bear the moral obligation for what happened on campus, aggravated the conflict and damaged university property.



Bir Zeit students will be unable to complete their second term.

Aghazarian asserted that cancellation of the second semester will not affect students negatively. He explained that students would be able to make up the losses in summer courses planned long before the closure. The university is scheduled to offer eight summer course credits.

"The most important thing," Aghazarian added," is to abide by university regulations and implement its laws." He stressed, "We will not abandon the principle of democracy, but we should systemise how we practise democratic principles. There is a dangerous trend." Aghazarian explained, "the university is not a platform for political struggle between the various Palestinian factions. We want to stress the importance of the academic role of the institution." Aghazarian affirmed that "The university will not rescind its decisions" and said "it is now up to the student movement to accept reality or to choose confrontation." However, he diplomatically added that the administration is willing to talk with the students to convince them of its decision.

Dr. Sa'edi al-Faqieh, chairman of BZU's Board of trustees, told *Al Fajr* that the first priority of Bir Zeit is to maintain high academic standards at the university. "This does not mean that the school should not be involved in Palestinian society," he said. The second priority is to encourage democratic life on campus and the last is to encourage loyalty to Palestine. "Therefore" he concluded, "we seek the implementation of all university regulations in an effective manner. The role of everyone at the university should be clearly defined and democracy and freedom of expression should be confined within these limits." Faqieh defended all the deans' council decisions and said he sees a need to "rearrange the international structure of the entire university."

The Students' Viewpoint

Ahmad al-Deek, director of the cultural committee on the BZU student council, accused the univeristy of "blowing hot air into the balloon." As he saw it, "The crisis was resolved on the first night after the incident." The university decided to take advantage of this incident, he said, to isolate and undermine the student movement in order to strengthen its control over the campus. Al-Deek told *Al Fajr*: "On May 26, one day after the incident, we tried to meet Dr. Gabi Baramki, the Acting President of the university, but he refused to meet us. In our first memorandum sent June 1 to the deans' council, we explained the dangers of closing the campus and cancelling the semester which means a collective punishment for all the students. This punishment will have a long-range psychological effect on students' families. On the other hand, there are more than 400 seniors who would be forced to study another year before graduating. This would also reduce the number of new students to be accepted next year."

In response to the administration's argument that seniors can take courses during the summer semester, Deek said, "Many teachers will not be able to stay during the summer, and many students also can't take courses then because they work to earn money to pay tuition fees for next year."

Deek continued his account of the steps students had taken to try to reconcile differences with the administration. "In the second memorandum sent to the deans' council, June 1, the student council demanded the establishment of a commission of inquiry and punishment for the troublemakers. In the memorandum, we stressed the importance of abiding by university regulations as the most legitimate arbitration criteria," he said.

"We sent a third memorandum to the board of trustees June 2, in which we proposed to reopen the campus and expressed our readiness to sign any guarantees suggested by the university in which the students undertake that violence on campus will not recur."

Asked what students would do next, Deek stressed that the students will not acquiesce to the university's decision to close the campus. He explained that the various factions of the student movement had come to an agreement on problems in the university, following extensive discussions. Deek summarised this stand as follows:

"First, we want to preserve the achievements of the entire university including those of the student movement. It is wrong to judge the history of Bir Zeit University and the student movement by exaggerating this incident.

"Second, the university administration is responsible for the consequences of its unilateral decision to close the university.

"Third, we have demonstrated self-control and expect the administration to rescind its decison so the administration, the union of university employees and the student council could meet and decide on the proper procedures that should be taken in accordance with the school regulations to solve all other longstanding problems."

The Union of Teachers and Employees' View

The union of Bir Zeit teachers and employees met on campus June 10. They decided to condemn the recent administration decisions and to elect committees to study the crisis and make recommendations to the administration.

A group of employees drew up a document called "the democratic work document" in which they outlined 15 principles to stabilise academic life at Bir Zeit. These included the importance of maintaining democratic dialogue at the university, and condemnation of both the use of violence and punishment of students. The employees stressed that sectarian, territorial and factional divisions should be overcome.

Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, a philosophy lecturer at BZU, told *Al Fajr* that the administration has not dealt with this crisis head-on. "On the contrary," he said, "it tends to confine itself and tries to centralise the decision-making process by reducing democratic interaction between various groups involved. The administration has a nostalgic yearning for the time 10 years ago when Bir Zeit was a family-run university."

"This time," Nusseibeh added, "the administration insists on making decisions alone. It refused to include the employees union in the process or to talk with the student council.

Nusseibeh asserted that the problems will not be solved unless the administration agrees to cooperate with the employees union and the student council to reach an agreeable, pragmatic solution.

East Jerusalem Hit

Israel Cracks Down on Arab Diary Products

Israeli health officials confiscated and destroyed Arab-produced dairy products sold in East Jerusalem shops last week on the pretext that the plants which made them did not have licences to sell in Jerusalem and that "the dairy products may be hazardous to the health." Arab producers said the measure aims at eliminating competition with Israeli dairy products.

Dairy products from these Arab Development Society cows were banned from Jerusalem.

Israeli health officials were shown destroying scores of containers of the Arab-made dairy products on TV June 4 because, they claimed, the products were contaminated. The Israeli television report prompted strong protest from one of the two Arab dairy plants in the West Bank. In a front page advertisement that appeared in all local Arabic papers June 5,the Jneidi dairy plant in Hebron denounced the television report. The ad called allegations by a health official interviewed on TV that Jneidi products are not pasteurized "unjustifiable and unfounded." The newspaper statement stressed that "the plant is licensed by the concerned health department and meets all health conditions required." It also said the plant is under strict health supervision and all its products are pasteurized "using the most scientific methods."

A member of the Jneidi family who preferred to remain unidentified told *Al Fajr* he believes that the reason behind the assault on Arab dairy products is "political." He said the destruction of their products took place only in Jerusalem shops while the rest of the West Bank went untouched. He pointed out that if the dairy products were indeed contaminated as the Israelis alleged, then the same products should have been destroyed throughout the entire West Bank. What the Israelis want, he asserted, is to prevent Arab dairy producers from competing with the Israeli Tnuva company, which fills markets in the occupied territories with its products.

According to Imad Ukkeh, owner of the Ukkeh grocery store in the Jerusalem neighbourhood of Shu'fat, when Israeli health officials appeared at his shop June 1 to confiscate all Arab-produced dairy products, he was clearly instructed not to sell any dairy product other than Tnuva. The health officials claim Tnuva employs certified health inspectors who go over every product before it is marketed. Ukkeh also said the health officials destroyed the Arab dairy products right on the spot with chemicals, without taking them in for laboratory analysis to determine whether or not they were indeed contaminated.

The Israelis claim that a cattle disease known as Maltese Fever was discovered among cattle in Sur Baher, a Jerusalem neighbourhood. Maltese fever, according to Dr Hatem Kamal, Director of Veterinary Services in the West Bank, is contagious and spreads from animals to humans through dairy products, especially non-pasteurized products. However, Dr. Kamal said, the Maltese Fever was controlled and restricted to the Sur Baher area alone.

Neither Jneidi nor the other Arab dairy plant, the Jericho-based Arab Development Society (ADS), use milk from cattle in Sur Baher for their products. The Jneidi family member told *Al Fajr* that their plant uses only Tnuva milk which they turn into milk by-products. The ADS, on the other hand, has its own farm on which it raises its cattle. ADS does not use milk from any other farm.

One ADS official told *Al Fajr* that the plant and all its products are supervised by a Swedish technician who checks every product before it is marketed. "Our product is as good as anything else," said the official. The ADS is currently managed by Swedish experts from Radda Barnen (Save the Children), who are here on a special contract with the farm to run its new dairy plant. The plant was donated by Radda Barnen. ADS is the only Arab farm that produces pasteurized milk.

The ADS officials expressed astonishment at the confiscation and destruction of their products. The ADS was never informed by the Israeli Health Ministry of its action and only learned about the incident from distributors. ADS manager Saleh Alami also rejected the Israelis' claim that ADS does not have a licence to sell in Jerusalem. He said the farm was granted a permit from the Israeli military government to sell in the entire West Bank, including East Jerusalem. He expressed hope that the Israelis will realize that they made a mistake and allow ADS to continue distribution. The Israeli military authorities apparently didn't check with Israeli health officials in Jerusalem when they gave distribution permits for the Jerusalem area.

Jneidi plant has been in operation for three years now but started mass distribution to Jerusalem shops only six months ago. ADS was founded in the early 1950s and was a major source of dairy products for the West Bank during Jordanian rule until 1967 when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza. ADS suffered serious setbacks but has recently reshaped itself and become a major producer of dairy products. It recommenced mass distribution in West Bank cities, including East Jerusalem, only eight months ago.

Shopkeepers who carry ADS and Jneidi dairy products told *Al Fajr* that demand for these products is increasing as more people learn about them. Some shared Jneidi's view that Tnuva and Israeli officials in general are worried the new Arab competitors may take over the West Bank market, which Tnuva has had sole dominion over for 18 years.

Some observers noted that the Israeli television news report, which showed Arab and Israeli dairy products side by side but only the Arab product was claimed 'hazardous to the health' and then destroyed, biased viewers never to trust ADS or Jneidi products again, even though it may be proven that these products meet health requirements and never had anything wrong with them.

Losses from the destruction of Jneidi and ADS products are expected to reach thousands of dollars.

PLO Factions Continue Unity Talks

Palestinian efforts to restore national unity to the PLO continued this week. According to Palestinian officials in Aden, meetings have been taking place in the South Yemen capital between officials from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Fatah Movement to achieve a *rapprochement* in the three factions' positions.

Sources said that current intiatives for *rapprochement* are concentrated around a joint declaration by all factions adhering to the PNC resolutions and the Aden-Algiers agreement, concluded between the Palestinian factions in July 1984 but never put into effect. The agreement called for organisational reforms in the PLO and for adopting a strong stand against US sponsored proposals to solve the Palestinian problem.

Meanwhile, press reports from Amman said the PFLP General Secretary George Habash and DFLP General Secretary Nayef Hawatmeh agreed with South Yemeni President Ali Nasser Mohammed to a proposal for national unity, which calls for a joint declaration by all factions affirming their adherence to the Palestinian national charter and the PNC resolutions.

The PFLP, on the other hand, issued a statement last week affirming its opposition to the "deviationist stand." The statement explained that the Front does not oppose national unity, but this unity must be established on firm basis after the cancellation of the February 11 Amman agreement (between PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and King Hussein), and the ousting of the present leadership (Arafat).

Efforts to restore national unity to the PLO started last week with a meeting of representatives of the three major PLO factions, Fatah, the PFLP and the DFLP in Amman, where a joint statement was issued.

Curfews, Raids, Follow Attacks on Israeli Targets

The Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza witnessed a noticeable increase in attacks on Israeli targets this week.

The Israeli army placed the Arab village of Bidya and neighbouring villages in the Nablus district under curfew June 10 following a hand-grenade attack on an Israeli military vehicle in the area. A military force combed the area in search of the attackers but no one was apprehended according to Israel TV, which did not give any information on injuries or damages. The military vehicle was travelling near Bidya to a nearby Jewish settlement.

The most serious incident occurred in Gaza, where an Israeli military vehicle was ambushed June 8 as it was driving on a road outside the city, an army spokesman said. Sources in Gaza said the attackers sprayed the patrol with automatic gunfire as it approached a stone roadblock they had erected north of Gaza, but no one was injured, according to the spokesman. The Israeli press, reporting on this attack, quoted Israeli sources as saying the weapons used in the attack were of Israeli army-issue. The escalation of attacks on Israeli military targets in the Gaza Strip has led the military to decide to increase patrols there, the press reported.

The Jerusalem Post reported June 12 that an Israeli reserve soldier found dead in the western Naqab June 7, was believed to have been strangled to death. The paper said police are performing an autopsy after which more about the incident and its motives might be surmised.

At Balata refugee camp, also near Nablus, refugees demonstrated June 6 against continuing Israeli harassment and arrests. The demonstrators stoned Israeli military vehicles, smashing one window and injuring a patrol driver.

Israeli soldiers were called to quell the demonstration. The soldiers fired shots in the air and at private homes. Many youths were arrested, some from their homes during late night raids at camp residences.

In Ramallah, two petrol bombs were thrown at the customs building in the city June 8, Israel Radio reported. No damage was caused, the radio said. The attack occurred near the spot where a soldier was killed last February.

Youths also stoned an Israeli bus as it passed Arroub refugee camp near Hebron June 9 smashing its front windshield, an Israeli army spokesperson reported. No one was hurt, the army said.

The Hebrew daily *Hadashot* reported June 9 that several attacks on Israeli targets took place the previous night. A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli car travelling on the outskirts of Nablus. A third petrol bomb was thrown at Israeli military headquarters in Tulkarm. It missed the building, but set surrounding areas on fire. Israeli soldiers closed several shops in the vicinity of the attack. A similar attack took place at a police station in Nablus, setting the front of the station on fire. The front door of a police station in Dura in the Hebron district was also set afire last June 8. *Hadashot* quoted a military spokesperson as saying that no one was hurt in any of these attacks.

Peres Counters Hussein's Peace Plan

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres diffused Jordanian efforts to give a push to the peace process in the Middle East by proposing a five-point plan of his own June 10. Peres, speaking to the Israeli Knesset, said his plan is an alternative to King Hussein's intiative launched following the signing of the PLO-Jordan agreement of February 11. The Hussein intiative, which received a big boost following the Jordanian King's recent visit to Washington, calls for negotiations between the US and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation as a first step towards mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians, to be followed by direct negotiatons between the adversaries under an international umbrella.

A PLO spokesperson in Tunis said Peres' plan "does not include anything new." He continued, "This plan is against the Palestinian-Jordanian accord and a compromise between Peres' and Shamir's views."

Peres' plan rules out any specified role for the US in the early part of the direct negotiations he proposes between Israel and its neighbours. Instead, Peres' first phase entails continuation of talks between the US, Israel, *Egypt, Jordan* and non-PLO Palestinian representatives.

The second phase calls for the creation of a "limited" Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli team to prepare an agenda for a conference for the three parties with US participation. This step will be followed by attempts to win the support of the permanent members of the UN Security Council to start direct negotiations between Israel and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation without any of the Security Council members taking sides in advance.

Step four will include choosing "authentic" Palestinian representatives from the occupied territories acceptable to all parties concerned. The end result, as Peres envisions it, would be a peace conference convened within three months in either the US, West Europe or the Middle East.

The announcement of the plan prompt trong criticism from dovish elis and West Bank Palest as who favour Jordan's moves.

MK Victor Shemtov (Mapam) called Peres' plan "disappointing." Speaking at the same parliament session in which Peres presented his plan, Shemtov said, "Whenever there is a trace of hope for a political solution, the government's blood pressure goes up and it starts going around in circles and shakes in instability." Shemtov addressed Peres, saying "I am forced to tell you that you have caused a disappointment to all of those who expected a positive and realistic answer from you and not general and uncommitted statements." The Mapam MK concluded his presentation saying "I do not know if there was great hope in the new Jordanian-Palestinian step, but I know its failure is due to the Israeli government which did not encourage it."

In its June 11 editorial the Hebrew *Davar*, mouthpiece of the Israeli Labour Federation (Histadrut), called the Peres plan "vague." It said Peres tried to go around the Jordanian-Palestinian peace moves in order to avoid the downfall of his national unity government by coming out with vague proposals.

The Mapam daily *Al Hamishmar* commented in its June 11 editorial on the limitation of the Palestinian representation in the peace talks by saying "The norm is that peace is conducted between the warring factions. Therefore there is no use in signing a peace agreement with representatives chosen by the Israeli government." It continued, "Peres rejected the Jordanian-American initiative under pressure from the coalition government. He came up with alternative proposals only to win some time. But this will not lead to any progress, only to a loss of the opportunity for peace as the Jordanian King said."

In its June 11 editorial, *Al Quds* Arabic daily attacked the Peres plan as an attempt to sabotage Jordanian-Palestinian peace efforts. It said that while Jordan and the PLO have been "faithfully" trying to prepare an atmosphere for peace, Israel places obstacles in the way of these efforts. It added that Peres calls for negotiations without any conditions but sets his first conditions by stipulating the Palestinian participants should not be PLO members. "The second condition Peres put," the editorial said, "is that the negotiations should be held outside an international conference."

Al Quds concluded its editorial saying "If Peres and other policy makers in Israel are really seeking true peace, they have no other choice but to direct their attention to the PLO and to an international conference to include all the conflicting parties, including the PLO and the five permanent members of the Security Council.",

In the US, State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb cautiously praised the Peres plan as another reflection of the momentum towards direct negotiations." Kalb added, "This reaffirms our view that there is an appreciation in the area for the need to begin early negotiations, hopefully by the end of the year."

Neve Tertza Women Start Work Strike

Palestinian women political prisoners at Neve Tertza prison in Ramleh went on an open work strike June 9 to protest prison officials' decision to integrate them with criminal prisoners.

The Israeli prison authorities reportedly moved the 11 women prisoners out of their ward and scattered them to several criminal wards in violation of international law. Lawyers who visited the prisoners also said that the prison officials had closed the private library of the political detainees and mixed their books with those of the rest of the prisoners.

The women prisoners issued a statement inside the prison June 9 condemning the measure as "a violation of international law." The statement rejected the prison administration's claims that they intended to reorganise the prison. They also affirmed their determination to fight to keep all political prisoners in one ward.

The statement also notified the prison administration that they have decided to stop doing any work inside the prison until the situation is restored as before. Lawyers who visited the prison said that Israeli officials, in response, decided to punish the women by keeping them inside the rooms 23 hours a day.

The prisoners' statement, excerpts of which were published in the local press, stated that: 1. All Palestinian political prisoners, whether already sentenced or awaiting trial, must be held in a separate section. 2. The right to have books, magazines and radios should be considered an absolute right for all prisoners, rather than making it conditional upon accepting work in prison. 3. Treatment of the political prisoners should be improved and provocations against them should be stopped.

The statement also condemned the aggression by the Shi'ite Amal movement for perpetrating the massacres in the Beirut camps. It also condemned Syria for failing to intervene to stop the massacres.

Furthermore, the statement called on all Palestinians and all democratic forces in Israel to express support and solidarity with them and to help them achieve their demands. (Translation: Al Tali'a, June 13, 1985).

Settlers Win Court OK to Seize Old City Home

Religious Jewish settlers from the Atara Lioshna *Yeshiva* (Jewish religious school) continued to occupy an Arab-owned house in Aqbat al-Saraya neighbourhood in the Old City of Jerusalem for the second week. The tenants were unable to get them out.

The Israeli magistrate's court in West Jerusalem cancelled June 11 an order *nisi* it had issued on June 6 prohibiting the settlers from using the house. It was still unclear why the order was cancelled, especially since the tenant, Bahiyeh al-Zaru, who has lived in the house for nearly 50 years, is still in Jordan, unable to return because she broke her leg.

The settlers' seizure of the three-room house followed previous settler takeovers of three other apartments in the two-storey building. Describing the seizure, sources at the office of lawyer Lea Tsemel, who represents the tenant, said that the settlers, who are reformed criminals, broke into the house on the night of June 4 and evacuated the furniture to an unknown location. The source said that all of the furniture — including a refrigerator, TV set, beds and chairs — was removed from the house by settlers and subsequently disappeared. Israeli police looked for the furniture but could not find it.

On June 5, the settlers — again working at night to conceal their actions — installed a new metal front door, brought furniture and moved in.

The tenant's daughter, who lives in Jerusalem, filed a complaint with police and obtained an order *nisi* from the magistrate's court on June 6, barring the settlers from using the house. They, however, continued living in it. It took a large police force to keep them out.

Army Clamps Night Curfew on Hebron Village

The Israeli army has declared the village of Raq'ah, north of Yatta in the Hebron district, a closed military area at night as of June 9, on the pretext that an Israeli vehicle was stoned as it passed through the village.

Sources in Yatta said that Israeli troops close off roads to Raq'ah (population 2500) at 7:00 pm every night with roadblocks and prevent people from entering. The source said that this closure usually continues until 6:00 the next morning.

Mukhtar Rushdi Sari' of Yatta said the Israelis had never officially notified them of the closure. "They simply come at night, call a curfew, and put up roadblocks to enforce it." He also said he does not know when the night curfew is going to be lifted.

A grenade was thrown towards an Israeli military vehicle as it drove on the Yatta-Hebron road June 4. No injuries or damages were reported in the attack.

Two weeks ago, Israeli army bulldozers demolished 10 stone shelters in the neary hamlets of Janbeh and al-Markaz, both south-east of Yatta, and forced their inhabitants to leave. The land, which is located close to the 'green line,' was seized for "military purposes."

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Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26487 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

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Peres' 'Peace' Plan

Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres missed the mark when he announced the five point Israeli scheme termed a "peace plan."

The plan suggested by Peres is aimed solely at continuing the no-war, no-peace situation which is of paramount advantage to Israel and its expansionist goals.

Peres' plan fails to recognise a central fact which even the US has slowly come to accept. The Palestinian people through their legitimate representative must be properly included as an equal partner in all aspects of negotiations.

The Labour Party leader calls in his proposal for the mobilisation of support from permanent members of the UN Security Council provided that no country declares its prior support for any party. Peres, who continues to reject an international conference, must be naive if he expects Palestinians to accept the US as a fair sponsor of negotiations determining their fate.

Peres totally missed the mark by proposing that Palestinian negotiators, in his fourth and final step, be appointed only from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Palestinian problem is not limited to the 1.5 million Palestinians living in the occupied territories but encompasses all 4.5 million Palestinians living throughout the world. All of these Palestinians are plagued by the Palestinian problem, so all must be dealt with in its resolution.

It didn't take long – nor did it require an Arab spokesman – to reject Peres' "no peace plan." MK Victor Shemtor (Mapam), whose party until last year was part of the Alignment-Labour coalition, told his former friend not to bow to Likud pressure, and asked him to approve the current US-Jordanian peace initiative.

Peres introduced his "peace plan" by stating, "We look upon Jordan and the Palestinians with respect." If Peres looks on Palestinians with respect, he has to respect their right to self-determination, the right to choose their representatives and the right to establish their independent state.

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US Approach to PLO in Transition

by Daoud Kuttab

Although the United States government has not changed its basic refusal to deal with the PLO until the PLO recognises Israel, politicians appear to be toying with transitional diplomatic steps that would make future acceptance easier and more acceptable to themselves and more importantly to Israel.

It is not a coincidence that the American diplomatic manoeuvres come at a time when the PLO has been weakened as a result of the departure from Beirut in 1982, the internal fighting since 1983 and the latest assault on refugee camps in Sidon and Beirut.

In contrast to Israel's persistent requests for direct Arab-Israeli negotiations, the Jordanian proposal – which has apparently been accepted by the US – calls for such negotiations to take place only in the last stage of a four-step peace plan. The plan, which was outlined to reporters in Washington, calls for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to hold initial talks with US officials as its first step. The Palestinians in this delegation can be members of the Palestine National Council (PNC), but not active members in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) itself. The second step entails the US declaring its willingness to accept the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. This would be immediately followed by the third step, official PLO acceptance of UN resolution 242. The fourth step would then be direct Arab-Israeli negotiations under an international umbrella.

Much has been said and argued over the question whether members of the PNC are also members of the PLO. As formulated in May 1964, the PLO's basic constitution vests supreme power in determining PLO policy in the Palestine National Council *(Al Majlis al-Watani al-Filastini)*. The PLO constitution provides for PNC members to be elected by the Palestinian people, although this has never been possible in the broad sense of the word, many members are elected by the bodies they represent – teachers, for example, or women's unions, or whatever. Since the formation of the PLO, the PNC has held 17 ordinary sessions and one emergency session. The 17th session was held in Amman on November 22, 1984. The 17th session had final membership of 402 delegates, with a further 120 nominal PNC members from the occupied territories who were unable to attend because of Israeli restrictions. In addition to laying down the board lines of PLO policy, one of the PNC's main tasks has been to elect the PLO's Executive Committee.

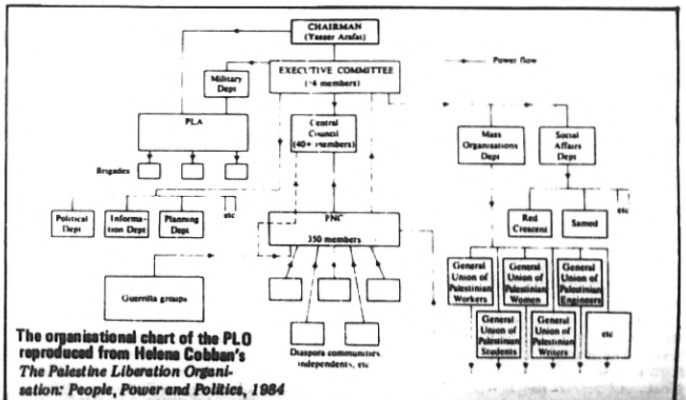
The main difference that the Americans would like to highlight is the distinction between PNC members who are members of guerilla organisations and those who are elected to the PNC on their personal capacity or as representatives of various aspects of Palestinian life – teachers, doctors, lawyers, student workers, women's organisations, or representatives of diaspora Palestinians. Making such a distinction would mean a clear split between the PLO's military and political branches. So far, the PLO has refused all pressures to drop armed struggle from its charter. The successive PNC resolutions have also stressed the need to employ military and political tactics hand-in-hand until liberation.

The Americans showed their preference for this distinction when US Secretary of State George Shultz told reporters that Americans were looking for "moderate Palestinians who do not believe in violence as Palestinian delegates."

Making the distinction between PNC members who are independents vs those who are members of Palestinian guerilla organisations was too complicated for the Americans to try to sell. Thus US diplomats created the distinction between the PNC and the PLO in order to bypass the psychological barrier Americans and Israelis had about dealing with the PLO. The Americans, Israelis and Palestinians know full well that there are few real substantive differences between the PNC and the PLO. But the Americans have made a media blitz on the difference – with the aid of Arabs and PLO officials who have refrained from calling the US hand. The Israelis have had to swallow the US's diplomatic distinction and deal with the PNC and the PLO as two separate entities, because their protest that the PNC is the same as the PLO did not receive a sympathetic resonse from the Americans.

The US-sponsored political initiative is now awaiting the establishment of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The joint delegation is expected to meet US envoy Richard Murphy in Amman sometime early in July. The names of the Palestinian delegates have yet to be officially announced. Press reports have included the names of three Palestinians from the occupied territories and three Palestinian professors living in the United States. It is not known whether the people whose names were circulated will officially join the delegation or whether their names were leaked to the press for some other reason. The PLO could conceivably appoint other PNC members who are more closely aligned with the PLO than the people already mentioned, unless King Hussein and US officials (with the consent of the PLO) have already agreed on the composition of the Palestinian delegation.

The tacit Palestinian approval for the Jordanian political initiative will most certainly improve the PLO's image around the world. The question which remains is whether the US will go through with the plan despite Israeli objections or if it will reverse its present stand in light of the Israeli government's rejection of the plan and Congress' pro-Israeli lobbying pressure. ■



The organisational chart of the PLO reproduced from Helena Cobban's *The Palestine Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics, 1984*

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Student-Administration Cooperation Needed at Bir Zeit University

by Said al-Ghazali

The student violence at Bir Zeit University May 25, which shook the foundations of Bir Zeit's role as the resort for the freedom of expression and democracy in the occupied territories, should not frustrate attempts to initiate positive reconstruction of the university. Reconstruction should be based on the good intention of all university bodies to cooperate in formulating an acceptable solution to the current crisis between the university administration and the students.

However, positive reconstruction requires the removal of all causes of violence and frictions that have resulted from the fact that there is no room at the university for various ideologies and political lines to be expressed freely on campus. For example, the constitution upon which the student council was *elected — on the basis of political line* — does not represent all student ideologies.

On the other hand, students do not have sufficient respect for university by-laws and regulations. The students either break these laws or appoint themselves as an apparatus authority to implement them. Some students, for example, pressured their teachers to mark up their grades because "they are political activists." They also pressured teachers to resort to some student bodies at the university.

The university administration also failed to coordinate important decisions with the student council or the union of teachers and employees which angered both students and teachers who feel there is a "conspiracy being woven in darkness against them." Teachers give as an example the fact that the university refuses to sign long-term work contracts with employees, and a rumour is circulating that the university will get rid of surplus employees.

The students have also been frustrated because of the administration's decision last semester to increase tuition fees and to change the grading system. This accompanied political splits and different views between the administration and the students about handling the issue of signing the political pledge imposed on teachers by the Israelis. Students accused the administration of attempting "to rearrange the inner university structure in a way which would guarantee its absolute and final authority at the university."

At the same time there is an urgent need to maintain the democratic life at the university by letting all bodies of the university participate in the decision-making process by facilitating smooth relations between all bodies of the university, including relations between students blocs. These changes require amendments in university by-laws in a way which would create an atmosphere of coordination on campus. This will encourage the spirit of loyalty to the university among students, teachers and all university bodies.

An atmosphere of good intentions and the end of the war of rumours between the administration and the students is the primary prerequisite for improving relations at Bir Zeit. If these necessary first steps do not take place, tensions will escalate and defiance will continue between the administration and students. Such tension belies the declared intention of the board of trustees to maintain "the spirit of one group" at the school. Clearly, Bir Zeit University — its administration, its board of trustees, and its students — is one educational establishment which has bravely encountered all kinds of internal and external difficulties. BZU has paid a high price for serving the Palestinian community in the occupied territories. However, it is not right to take advantage of this incident to contain the student movement and to trample on students' rights to fully and democratically participate in university life on campus within limits of university by-laws.

It is good to note that since the May 25 riot, the student council has not mobilised students against the administration or called a meeting to protest punitive measures — the dismissal of five students, closure of the university, and cancellation of the current semester. Students rejected these decisions by sending three memorandums to the board of trustees and the university council demanding the appointment of an investigative committee to examine what happened and issue proper recommendations.

The university must first meet the student representatives and attempt to resolve the matters of dispute. If the administration continues to take decisions unilaterally — whatever they may be — without attempting to discuss them with the student council, then the situation will deteriorate and the tension will escalate.

It is the student council's duty to calm down administration fears regarding the use of violence. This also has been attempted by the student council, whose members are ready to sign guarantees framed by the administration. University officials may argue that this is only lip service or verbal propaganda. It is easy to answer this argument by referring to the response of the student movement in the occupied territories to the killing May 27 of Tawfiq Rashad Sawalmeh, a student at Qalandya Vocational Training Centre, during a student quarrel two days after the riots at Bir Zeit. The student movement decided to heal its wounds and to control the tense atmosphere in the occupied territories.

It is a fact that the only party to gain from what happened at Bir Zeit is the Israelis, and the only loser is Bir Zeit University as a whole. Therefore, there is no need for more confrontation and splits inside the campus. It will not be a bad compromise if the university agrees to opt for a peaceful solution by agreeing to talks as the only means for resolving this problem. As far as the students are concerned, it will not be a bad compromise if they continue to exercise self-control, listen to the administration's arguments, and admit that it is part of the administration's duties to view and review university by-laws — but not by ignoring the role of the students.

In dealing with this particular crisis, there is no alternative but to find a common ground for both university administration and students to stand on. Otherwise, the wheels of democracy and freedom of expression will soon stand on the edge of another confrontation. All bodies of the university should set the laws together, but only the administration should execute those laws.

Perhaps the university administration's concept of democracy differs from that of the students. It is true that Bir Zeit should be a democracy within constitutional limits, but that does not mean that the administration alone can set those limits by unilaterally changing laws to suit their interests, and then claim to have created "a new democracy." ■

Dr Gabi Baramki speaking to students, (inset) arguing with Israeli occupation authorities.

Below is the fifth of a series of interviews with Arabs who are membmers of the Israeli Knesset. The interviews, conducted by *Al Fajr* **Kate Rouhana**, are published in alphabetical order.

Arab Members of Knesset

Tawfiq Toubi: Bulwark of the Communist Party

Tawfiq Toubi was born in Haifa in 1922. He finished secondary school in Jerusalem, at the Bishop Gobat school, where he first became involved in the Communist Party.

Toubi worked at a trade school as an employee for the British Mandate government for some time, and then dedicated his career to politics and to the Communist Party. During World War II he was active in the trade union movement in Haifa. By 1948, when the state of Israel was established, Toubi was chosen to be a candidate to the Knesset for the Communist Party, a post he has held in every Knesset since, making him one of the most veteran MKs in the house.

Tawfiq Toubi defines himself as "first of all, a Communist. This is the human part of myself. I am of course a Palestinian Arab. I am a citizen of the state of Israel, an Israeli citizen. And this is what I am."

Now in his eleventh term as an MK, Toubi is no. 2 on the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) list.

On his political background: "Our political activity in high school was on the basis of the fight against the British Mandate, for independence, national liberation from colonial rule. At the same time, social issues attracted my attention, and within this framework of the national struggle for liberation and social justice for the working people, for the underprivileged sectors of the society, I saw the Communist Party as the framework within which I could better fight for these ideas.

"I will always remember that school – two things: my teacher, Radif Khouri, a Communist, a well-known Arab writer, a man of letters from Lebanon who taught at our school for a few years. And of course I and others were influenced by him. He was expelled afterwards by the British Mandate, and prevented from continuing his task as a teacher. I was also influenced by the activity of various, I would say, activists of the party who were connected with the teacher and through him. We were involved in social activity, student activity, helped by Communist personalities who were intellectuals, helped us to organise student circles, student societies. It was at that time that we were organised – we initiated the formation of the students framework, organisation, general, democratic, nationalist, for social work in the villages, for political education. We issued a journal at that time, in the midst of the '30s, '36, '37 – it was a time of high revolutionary activity in Palestine itself. As such, I became more and more involved in politics, in social work, and finding my way through the Communist Party.

"Later on, when I graduated and found work, I continued my work, social work, particularly in the trade union movement in Haifa. It was the years of the war where trade union activity was high – World War II – '40, '41, '42. I and my colleagues, we were very active in the trade union movement at that time, thousands of workers flocked to Haifa which was the centre of industry and military activity, the industrial establishment of the British military – in Haifa. And this of course continued for some years. This was my social activity as a Communist also, in the trade union movement, helping workers to organise, to form their trade unions; helping them to formulate their demands, put their problems before the authorities, before the employers, and so on.

"When the state of Israel was established, I was a full-fledged member of the Communist Party, which became legal at that time. I had joined as a member. By the passage of time, and being an active member, I was elected to the organs of the party, then the central committee, then to the leadership of the party, one of the members of the leadership of the party. When the state was formed and the elections came to be, I was chosen to be a candidate on behalf of the Communist Party of Israel. I have been an MK from the first to the eleventh Knesset."

"To bring the Arab population in Israel to enjoy the life of equal citizens is a process, struggle, of fighting, not only of the Arab population, but of the Arab population and the Jewish democratic forces, who have always led the fight on the basis of a common struggle. The Arab population itself as the victim should always be the burning fire, the burning force to fight for their rights, not in an exclusive nationalist framework, but in a front together with the Jewish democratic forces. This is how we see it; this is how we practised our activity and our work."

On the Palestinian problem: "I speak of these questions when I speak about the Arab population in Israel. But our fight is also one for a peaceful settlement between Israel and the Palestinian people, and the Arab countries. And this struggle, for enabling the Palestinian people to enjoy their right to self-determination, of forming their own independent state alongside Israel, as decided upon as far back as '47 by the UN as the basis for the ending of British colonial rule, of creating the conditions for the two peoples to live, to coexist and to cooperate together, every people enjoying its right of self-determination in its own independent state. These principles, which we have supported since that period, continue to guide us up to this time.

"The Communist Party was the first political group in Israel to have official relations with the PLO, as the representative, the legal and the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Our first official meeting was in 1976, and since then we have had official relations. The PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people in their fight for national liberation, for self-determination, for the forming of their own independent state..."

"IT IS NATURAL THAT THE ARAB NATIONAL MINORITY IN ISRAEL FINDS ITS SPOKESMAN AND SUPPORTER IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY."

On the relationship between the Arabs in Israel and the Palestinian people: "Of course the Arabs in Israel are part of the Palestinian people. How can it be otherwise? They have their heritage, their common life, their common struggle during many years under the British Mandate to live as a free independent country. They are one people. They have been separated. These conditions that we are living in now, that we are put here as citizens of the state of Israel, they're developments beyond our power. We found ourselves to be living as citizens of the state of Israel. We are at the same time part of the Palestinian people. And we, as such, on the one hand, fight for equal rights as citizens of the country, and at the same time we see that we have a duty, a task towards our people, and as citizens of the state of Israel, to fight for a just peace, which can only be based on recognising the right of the two peoples for self-determination. To end the occupation, to withdraw to the boundaries of '67."

On political strategy for the Arabs in Israel: "The Arab population here has a big role, an important role, in the political fight in Israel itself. To form and to support and to strengthen the peace camp, the peace forces among the Israeli society. We call on the Arab population to sit tight. And to make their roots still deeper in their homeland. Where they *are*. They are here *not as* foreigners. They are here as masters of the land also. So they have to stay in their homes! I think that we will be very glad and happy when our brethren will exercise their right for self-determination in their own independent state, but *we* will stay in our homeland. We will fight

Continued on page 13.

Below is the platform of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, a coalition front in which the Communist Party is the main member. The DFPE, until 1984 the only non-Zionist party in the Knesset, was the only party to vote against the Lebanon War. In the July 1984 elections, the DFPE won 32 percent of the Arab vote. It holds four seats.

"It has become clear that without a solution to the central problem of the Israeli-Arab dispute – the Palestinian problem – it will be impossible to put an end to the wars and the insecurity.

"The Camp David accords were formulated without the participation of the Palestinian people and its sole authorised representative – the PLO – while denying its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of its own. Not only did the accords not bring a comprehensive, just and stable peace closer, they further distanced it; not only did they not remove the danger of war – they brought the Lebanon War.

"The root of the problem is the six joint "nos" of the Likud, the Alignment, and the other parties of the "national consensus": no to withdrawal from the Arab territories that Israel conquered in 1967; no to a recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state alongside Israel; no to the cancellation of the annexation of conquered East Jerusalem; no to recognition of the PLO; no to unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon and the cessation of intervention in that sovereign state; no to the cessation of global strategic services to a foreign power – the US – against the true interests of Israel.

"The Likud's "Egyptian Option" under American auspices which is embodied in the Camp David deal has come to a dead end. The Alignment's "Jordanian Option" is a dead embryo. The only realistic option is the Palestinian option – a just Israeli-Palestinian peace.

"It has become clear, that as long as there is no freedom and security for the Palestinian people, there will be no freedom and security for the Israeli people. It has become clear that every attempt to impose a "Pax Americana", ie, an American takeover of the Middle East, is doomed to failure. The failure of the Israeli-American war in Lebanon is additional proof of the fact that, given the real balance of power in the world, the Middle East conflict can only be resolved within the framework of collective international efforts on the part of the Soviet Union, the US, and other states. It has been proven that just as it is impossible to arrive at true peace and security without the Palestinian nation and its representative, the PLO, it is also impossible to achieve these goals without and in opposition to the Soviet Union."

The Montessori Method
A Revolution in Palestinian Education?

A Palestinian teacher reads up on Montessori theory. *"The Montessori method gave the teachers an insight into child psychology."*

by Baher al-Ashhab

"Of the 119 teachers in Jerusalem kindergartens, less than half are qualified to teach children; 65 hold only the *tawjihi* certificate, five did not finish high school, and the rest have college diplomas in subjects related to child education. Kindergartens lack the right tools for correct teaching. The 3500 children they teach are not getting the proper education nor the proper guidance in that crucial period of their lives. The conditions in the West Bank are no better. The Montessori method, if applied properly, can help."

So said Husni al-Ashhab, director of the Dar al-Aytam private school, during the May 18 graduation ceremony of the sixth class of teachers trained in the Montessori method at the Freres de la Salle school in Beit Hanina. Nineteen kindergarten teachers received certificates that day that qualified them to be assistant teachers of the Montessori method. They had come from several regions of the West Bank and spent more than 150 hours over the course of eight months learning and practising the Montessori method. They each paid US$250, some individually and some through their respective schools. The reason they enrolled in the course, as one graduate put it, was their belief that "our children deserve a better education than that which is offered in our schools."

Kindergarten education in the occupied territories, the graduates argued, is by no means satisfactory; it relies on conventional methods that bore not only the children but the teachers as well. A child's average day consists of sitting at a desk, together with about 30 classmates, and listening to the teacher try to convince them why they should memorise certain words or shapes drawn on the large blackboard. Toys and explanatory devices are rarely found in these schools. At break time, the scores of children run around aimlessly, quarrelling and pulling each other's hair. "A few weeks of that are enough to drive any teacher up the wall. Work becomes a noisy routine, the end of which is a big relief," one graduate told *Al Fajr*.

The Montessori course gave the teachers, all females under 25, an insight into child psychology — how children think and perceive the world around them, how to attract and focus their attention and get them interested in a given task or concept. The teachers also learned new methods of discipline by winning the child's trust and respect, thus obviating the need to shout or hit children as is commonly known to occur in local kindergartens. Most importantly, the Montessori course taught the teachers that unless you are totally dedicated to loving and caring for the child, you should not be there teaching him.

The Montessori method of education is named after the Italian psychologist and educator Dr. Maria Montessori, who at 24 was the first woman to graduate in medicine from the University of Rome in 1894. Montessori developed her unique method while working with handicapped children. She did a study of educational problems that these children faced and achieved startling results. The children under her tutelage passed the state exmination in reading and writing for normal children. She later concluded that similar methods might also be successfully applied to normal children and began to work with toddlers in private and public schools in Rome. She encountered opposition from advocates of orthodox methods of education who regarded her system, which encouraged creativity and freedom of movement, as being harmful to discipline, but she was warmly supported by enthusiastic reformers. In 1922, Montessori was appointed government inspector of schools in Italy which helped her popularise her methods. She wrote more than six books on learning and children. She spent her later years supervising training courses in Spain, India, England and the Netherlands where there are now schools named after her that follow her teaching methods. She died in the Netherlands in 1952.

The Montessori method is dedicated to developing the child's ability to learn, rather than emphasising the material itself, through proper guidance and reinforcement. It emphasises simplicity in teaching techniques, positive reinforcement, freedom of movement, individual rather than group lessons, the development of the child's five senses, and the establishment of a foundation for future learning on an independent basis. Unlike conventional teaching methods, particularly those in the the West Bank and Gaza, the Montessori method does not stress memorisation as a tool for learning. Children are provided with numerous scientifically designed games and instruments that enable them to learn through independent effort, practice, and repetition. Montessori places much importance on the use of the hand, which is recognised by psychologists as the first organ of expression and artistic creation. The method, unlike conventional education, enables children to find the greatest pleasure in their activities by developing their sense of colour and form and by continually exercising their hands and eyes.

In educating the child, the Montessori teacher will use numerous scientifically designed instruments that enable children to develop their senses and ability to recognise various stimuli in their environment. The instruments will also aid the child to develop an ability to absorb more information than he would otherwise. For example, Montessori teachers use an instrument with a series of different sized bells to enhance the child's perception of musical sounds, numerical rods to teach counting and judgment of relative lengths, and constructive triangles and geometrical figures to train the eye to discriminate and develop the child's visual ability. Solid insets, baric tables, decimal beads and even water jugs, corn and other foodstuffs are used to develop each child's individual senses.

The teacher's role, according to Montessori's philosophy, is "never to teach but rather to help the child learn." The teacher performs an exercise with a given material several times and then asks the child to perform it himself. If the child succeeds, the teacher encourages him to try a more difficult task. If he fails, the teacher encourages him to try again but never reprimands him for his mistake. The principal teaching agent is not the teacher's instructions but rather the material itself. Teachers use only the simplest instructions to guide the child's learning. The teacher is never to use punishment or reward tactics to get a point across, conflicting with conventional education and eliminating all forms of child abuse known to be widespread in schools in the occupied territories.

Teacher looks on as child learns spelling using Montessori exercises. *"The teacher's role is not to teach but to help the child learn."*

Instead of the punishment and reward system, the Montessori method claims that it encourages the establishment of a healthy relationship between the child and the teacher whereby the child loves, respects and trusts the teacher, and the teacher dedicates him or herself to the goodwill of the child.

In her book, *The Discovery of the Child*, Maria Montessori promises that through her methods the child "will grow stronger, develop a distinctive personality, will be well-disciplined and will acquire an inward health that is the direct and brilliant product of the freeing of the mind."

The story of how the Montessori method came to the occupied territories begins in 1977 when Brother Noel Saqr, director of the Freres de la Salle private schools in the West Bank, was in London taking English language courses at a British institute. "As I walked every day from my residence to the institute and back, I saw how enthusiastic the children seemed as they went to school, and how happy and healthy they seemed as they left school in the afternoon. I could not help but wonder what really went on in their schools that they appeared so happy and I decided to investigate."

In comparison to British children, Brother Saqr argued, Palestinian children often consider their schools as centres of oppression and places where they are bored to death. He said he often felt dismayed by seeing how children awaited release time impatiently and ran out when the bell rang as if they were held against their will.

When he went to a British school to investigate their methods of education, he found an unlimited amount of instructional tools and creative instruments were used to teach an otherwise similar curriculum to that taught in the West Bank and Gaza. He arranged to meet a Montessori instructor who, upon hearing his arguments, offered to accompany him back to the West Bank and train Palestinian teachers in the method. As they prepared to leave for the West Bank, Brother Noel learned that the instructor was Jewish. He felt he had to abort the whole operation "because it seemed very impractical to hire a Jewish instructor in an all-Arab school. I took my decision with utmost regret," he told *Al Fajr*.

Montessori promises that *"children will acquire an inward health that is the direct and brilliant product of the freeing of the mind."*

When Brother Noel arrived home he was introduced to an American psychologist, Dr. Helen Bellings, who had just arrived from Jordan after her plans to give lectures on the Montessori method in Beirut had to be cancelled because of a renewed outbreak of fighting at the time. Dr. Bellings offered to help Brother Saqr in introducing the method into his schools. "It seemed like if the Lord answered my prayers and I felt that what I wished for our schools could actually materialise."

Dr. Bellings suggested to Brother Noel that he send three of his best teachers back to the US with her to study the Montessori method in Kansas City University where she lectured. He agreed, and obtained a grant from the Vatican which enabled him to send three teachers to the US in the summer of 1978. Dr. Bellings also sent an instructor from her school, Becky Ford, who supervised the first Montessori classes in the West Bank at the Freres De La Salle school in Beit Hanina. Ford took on the job, training teachers and slowly adapting children and their classrooms to the Montessori method until a year later one of the trainees, Mrs Nuha Batshon, felt confident enough to replace her. Batshon has been the coordinator and trainer of the Montessori method in the West Bank ever since.

Batshon who was described by one graduate, Leila Khalifiya in her speech during the graduation ceremony as "our loving mother and guiding angel," has managed in the last six years to train over fifty West Bank teachers and introduce the Montessori method to ten private schools, including the Queen Nur in Amman, Jordan. She also gets the credit for establishing Montessori as the method of education in the kindergarten at the Freres school and for introducing it into the first grade. School administrators and parents praise Batshon highly for raising the standard of these classes. The percentage of those who received As under her tutelage was higher than ever before. A mother of two, she holds several diplomas from European universities and had coordinated activities in several clubs in Jerusalem before she dedicated herself to educating children with the Montessori method. She is now coordinator of the Montessori programme at the Freres school.

"It was truly heartbreaking to see our children wasting precious time in school and not being offered the proper guidance. The Montessori method has taught me how to respond to their needs and satisfy their hunger for stimulus," Batshon told *Al Fajr*. She added that the "children's improved academic performance testifies to the success of the method in our schools." She said that kids are now enjoying the learning process. They are calmer, more responsive and more self-respecting than before. "We reach out to individual children to learn their abilities and the differences in their personalities. We offer them love and respect, and we listen to their grievances. A child cannot feel behind or lost as he might in regular education."

Batshon explained that she and the teachers also reach out to the parents, some of whom voiced stiff objections to the new methods six years ago. "When we started, parents came to us shouting, 'What are you doing to our kids? They are not learning properly, you don't give them homework...' etc. We had to explain that this is a new method and that we are new at it. We sure had our faults that only practice and hard work could eliminate."

Brother Noel said that several parents with a more conservative background came to him complaining that their children had become "disobedient," often questioning their parents' orders and demands. "It is not a secret that children are physically abused in some homes in this country. They are often treated as nuisances and are ignored to the point where they feel alienated. By discovering their various abilities, with their participation, the children began to learn how sweet love is and how reinforcing proper attention is. Some developed the courage to demand the same treatment in their own homes from their parents and guardians," he told *Al Fajr*.

"We had to solve this problem that had the force to destroy our project," he continued. "What we did was to invite all parents to attend classes with their children and to witness how able the little guys are. Then we started having weekly meetings and workshops with parents to explain to them that this new method might just work. They responded favourably and came back wanting to learn more. We can proudly say that the Montessori method has improved the relationship between children and parents at home by a large degree."

Mrs Qabani, a Jerusalem housewife whose two sons just finished kindergarten and first grade, said that the Montessori method is perhaps the best thing that ever happened to her sons. She said that her son, who will enter second grade next year, has the knowledge of a fifth grader because of Montessori." At seven he is able to intellectually challenge the neighbour's son who is 11 and goes to a regular school. My third son is now going into kindergarten and there is only one school I would send him to — Montessori."

Montessori trainees learning how to utilise the various educating aids.

Mrs Qabani and the other more than 90 families who enrol their sons at Freres are willing to pay over six times the ambunt they would otherwise pay for school so that their children can get the Montessori education. "Perhaps that is proof of the success of the method," Mrs Qabani argued.

Those who oppose the utilisation of the Montessori method argue that it is a western method which cannot be adapted to our conservative culture. They also believe that unless the kids start out in regular studies, they will fail in later years when faced with stiff government examinations. This is not necessarily so, according to Lina Hammari, who joined the Montessori training course and graduated last month. She and other advocates argue that the Montessori method allows children to cover the regular material within the same time as other schools — and much more. "Why should a child wait to learn the shape of a cube until grade three, or the colour of a banana until the second term of school? Instead, he learns about the cube as he learns how to count from one to ten, and the colour of a banana as he eats it for lunch."

Batshon said that in kindergarten the children are taught by touch and feel, and repetition through the use of dozens of scientifically designed learning instruments. In first grade they learn by individual work cards that are reproductions of the school book assigned by the Ministry of Education. "We work hundreds of hours and use volunteers to produce these cards that are full of colour and pictures and teach the child in minutes what may take a whole day to teach by regular explanations. We are also continually designing new projects and programmes and teaching them to others who took the training courses," she added.

The materials used to teach the Montessori way were brought from Italy and England and reproduced in Arabic. Some materials were brought from Beirut where the Montessori method was widely taught.

In most countries where the Montessori method is used, specialised schools bearing the Montessori name were established to carry on the tradition. The West Bank has not yet reached that stage; the method is incorporated into the school's regular curriculum. But both Brother Saqr and Batshon hope to see such a school materialise one day in the future. It would take several years of preparation and lots of money, they say. It would also require convincing parents of the value and potential of such an institution. "Until then," says Batshon, "we will continue to offer the children what we have learned about Montessori in addition to regular schooling."

Batshon's hopes are focused on introducing the method into most kindergartens in the West Bank. The last area she managed to conquer was Hebron, known for its conservative outlook on schooling, discipline and social values. Seven out of the nineteen trainees who graduated last May were from the Hebron area. As Batshon optimistically put it, "If Hebron accepts improvement of children's education, other areas are sure to follow." ■

Nuha Batshon in her workshop with trainees from the conservative Hebron area: *"A new method."*

Orit Shohet spent four days with the ultra-right-wing, racist MK Rabbi Meir Kahane (Kach) and wrote the following report for *HaAretz*. In it she describes how Kahane's simplistic message ("Arabs Out!"), his ability to adapt that message to different audiences, and his persistent appearances around the country, have at least quadrupled his electoral support since the July 1984 elections.

Meir Kahane:

"I Say What You Think!"

According to the latest public opinion polls, Kahane's Kach movement has more electoral support than the Nazi Party had in 1928 Germany. Pollster Mina Tsemach, writing in the June issue of *Monitin*, claims that if elections were held now, the Kach movement would win four Knesset seats. Rafi Gil of the Pori Institute also acknowledges a significant and steady growth of support for Kahane but is not prepared to estimate it in real terms. "By being elected to the Knesset, Kahane gained a certain legitimacy. People are no longer embarrassed to say that they identify with him," said Gil.

In 1928, Hitler received only 2.5 percent of the vote. Five years later, he seized power. There are certain striking similarities between Israel and Weimar Republic Germany: a military defeat popularly perceived as a "national disgrace", rampant inflation, instability, doubt over the ability of the political system to cope with the country's problems, and an outbreak of chauvinistic sentiments among the majority of the public. Kahane is not put off by the comparison; during a meeting held in the Karnei Shomron settlement last week, he said: "They say Kach is a Nazi party. I say the Jews never threatened the Germans. The Jews did not want to annihilate them and take over their land. That's the basic difference."

Whoever clings to the notion that Rabbi Kahane only represents the lunatic fringe of Israeli democracy ought to spend a week with him, making the rounds. A week is enough to understand that the man is not totally mad. His wild antics, his outbursts of rage, and the curses he spits out from between his clenched teeth are all part of a carefully worked out routine. Kahane plans his speeches in advance, down to the last detail. He changes the emphasis of his speech according to the make-up, ethnic origin, economic status, and response of his audience... He does not put on the same show in Karnei Shomron [a West Bank settlement] and Yavneh [a development town]. And he does not put on the same show in Yavneh as he does in Tirat HaCarmel or Ma'alot. In Karnei Shomron he comes across as being dignified, polite, restrained. He interprets *Halacha* [Jewish religious law] together with his audience in order to "prove" that the expulsion of the Arabs from the country is in accordance with Halachic law...

Kahane in Karnei Shomron is not simply " the noise he makes," as Kurt Tucholsky wrote of Hitler in the 1920s. Kahane is the personification of the feelings of his audience. His political slogan — "I say what you think" — works both on those who think as he does but are not prepared to vote for him... and on those who disapprove of his antics but are ready to listen to what he has to say. Come election time, many people who shied away from voting Kach in the past may now vote for Kahane.

"If we don't get rid of democracy, the Arab will be the majority here."

Karnei Shomron, May 15

Kahane opens the meeting with his usual greeting — "Good evening Jews." [He then launches into a harangue about Ramban, a medieval Jewish theologian, whom Kahane interprets in a racist manner.] "Ramban," says Kahane, "clearly prohibits non-Jews from being employed by the state... Arabs are forbidden to even be municipal clerks. And Ramban means friendly gentiles, 'good Arabs' like MK Tawfiq Toubi — one of 'our Arabs.' If that's what coexistence is all about, there's nothing to worry about..."

Kahane's listeners are far from being upset. Most of them are between 20 and 30. Someone tries to clarify what kind of government Kahane wants to establish. Kahane doesn't dilly-dally: "Why a Torah state. What else? Whoever has a majority can do as he pleases. Right now I have to accept what Peres is doing. I may not like it, but I accept it. When the time comes, they'll have to accept what I believe to be correct."

Kahane continues: "The Arabs are a cancerous growth in the heart of the nation. They increase at an alarming rate. Six are born at a time. After the Six Day War of 1967, the Messiah knocked on the door and asked the people of Israel to open the gate, but we wouldn't let him in. Instead of serving God, we serve Reagan. ARABS OUT! That's what the Halacha proscribes. Don't ask me how. In another 20 years you'll be living under the PLO — and you want to know 'how'? Is that a problem? Don't worry good Jews, Reagan is only a tool in the hands of God."

Speaking in the Karnei Shomron settlement, Kahane steers clear of sensational issues. He doesn't mention the "Mapainiks-Mapamniks-Hashomer Hatzairniks-kibbutzniks whose names ought to be obliterated," or how the Moroccan Jews were humiliated by the Labour Party establishment in the 1950s. That routine is reserved for the development towns. In Karnei Shomron, Kahane does not refer to Shulamit Aloni as "Shulie, my little Shulinka" as he does when he appears before audiences in development towns, where his sallies of ridicule receive wild applause. The same holds true for the "Arabs stealing Jewish jobs" routine. In Karnei Shomron, Kahane appears in the guise of a dignified rabbi.

Yavneh, May 12

Kahane begins with his regular salutation: "Good evening, good Jews!" There are only a few dozen people at the rally. The local Kach activists didn't give the posters announcing his visit prominent enough display. But the hard-core yellow-shirted activists who arrived in advance of Kahane, reassure me that after the loudspeakers are set up, things will pick up.

The rally began at 7:30 and within half-an-hour there were traffic jams around the square. People in passing buses leaned out the window and cheered Kahane. About 300 Yavneh residents stood listening to him and 200 or so stood on the other side of the street. They wanted to hear what he had to say but didn't want to be identified as Kach supporters. This phenomenon recurred again and again in every town we visited.

[Kahane was speaking about the murder of an Israeli soldier that took place in the spring of 1985.] Kahane: "I sat in the Knesset and waited for a response from Yossi Sarid — may his name be obliterated. I waited for some response from the leftist-Hellenistic gentiles. But not one of them said a word.

"If an Arab had been murdered — Ay! Ay! Ay! I remember when Ben Shimol fired a rocket at an Arab bus; that same night the Knesset went into a special session and everyone got up to shout and wail... But why condemn Ben Shimol? Ben Shimol deserves a medal!!!" (Applause.) "Who here remembers Moshe Tammam? Moshe Tammam was a 19 year-old soldier who hitched a ride beside Beit Lid. They found his body four days later. Not only had he been murdered, but his eyeballs had been ripped out and his genitals cut off. That's the Arabs for you. It says in the Torah — in regard to Ishmael — 'He shall be a wild ass of a man: his hand shall be against every man and every man's hand against him.' The first part of the prophecy has come true. Now give me the support I need to realise the second part.

"Did we come to this country to live in a ghetto? To be afraid? If so, Zionism is dead! I'm telling you, we've had enough of both the Labour Alignment and the Likud! We're through with them! The Arabs are a cancer, a cancer in our midst, but there isn't a man around with the guts to stand up and say it. I've been talking to young Jews just out of the army. They can't find work. Aren't there any jobs? Of course there are jobs! Every day 93,000 Arabs come to Israel to work. Why? Because the materialistic Jewish employers can hire two Arabs for the price of one Jew. This nation is crazy! JOBS FOR JEWS!!! Arabs are buying state land with money coming over from Jordan. But the government isn't lifting a finger. Arabs are buying up the stalls in the markets and turning the markets into Arab markets. The Jewish market in Beit Shemesh is today an Arab market. How did it happen? An Arab gets a stall from a Jew and sells his wares at half the price. How does he get away with it? He doesn't have to pay income tax, he doesn't have to pay value added tax, and he turns up his nose at Tnuva. All the government cares about is not making waves. Look, this government already has an Arab minister — Ezer Weizman." (Laughter.) "What are you laughing about? I'm crying. Jews, I beg you, Wadi Ara is Arab, the Galilee is Arab, the Triangle is Arab — if we don't get rid of democracy the Arabs will become the majority here.

Continued on page 15

The Palestinian Taboun Oven

by Dr Sharif Kana'neh

Dr. Sharif Kana'neh, director of the research centre at Bir Zeit University, wrote an interesting study in 1982 on the* taboun, *the village clay oven, which was published in a four-part series in the* Society and Heritage *magazine, a quarterly on culture and heritage published by the el-Bireh based* In'aah al-Usra *(Family Rehabilitation) society. Kana'neh describes the parts of the* taboun, *in detail, explains how the oven is used, and discusses the practical and the social uses of the* taboun. *The series was published in issues 13, 14, 15 and 16 of* Society and Heritage. *His study is based on information taken from a village in the Galilee.

The taboun *is still used in Palestinian villages, primarily for baking bread, although today electric stoves compete with the* taboun.

Below are some excerpts of the study, translated from the original Arabic

* * *

Taboun is the name of the building and the clay stove inside it. The word originally referred to the stove but later came to mean the stove and the small building called *khesheh*, or shack. The *taboun* is made of two main parts. The first is the outer building, which is constructed with a mixture of clay, straw, and small stones. The roof is made of tree branches, zinc and wood. It is only two square metres in size, about as big as a chicken coop.

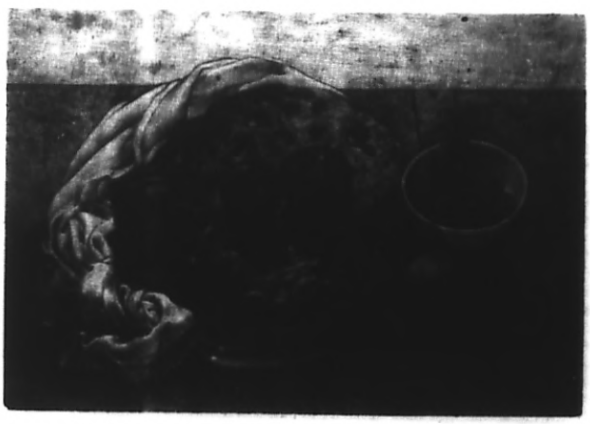
The *taboun's* heat and smoke blackens its roof. It is constructed in the most remote part of the house, near the public road, to help reduce the amount of smoke lest it enter the house. This design meant all *tabouns* in the village were adjacent to the village road. However, the *taboun's* door opens into the house. On most occasions, another shack is built near the *taboun* to store kindling, manure, and olive pits.

The second part is the stove and the tools which are used for baking. The stove is made of two parts: A. The *Beit Aish*, where the bread is placed, which is shaped like a cooking pot. Its base diagonal is 70 to 80 centimetres and the diagonal of its upper opening is 35 to 40 centimetres. It is made of clay, yellow soil and straw to solidify the mixture. *Rudafs* or small stones each the size of an egg are placed in the *Beit Aish*. The stones are smooth and round. The *rudafs* are placed in the dough to give the loaf a ragged shape. Kindling, manure and olive pits are placed around the stove from the outer side. B. The lid, which is round and made of zinc. It has a handle 15 centimetres high at its centre. It is little larger than the stove.

Three tools are used in baking. The *mek-har* — is for stirring embers and removing ashes from the lid and the stove. It is a plate made of wood, with a width of 10 centimetres, a length of 30 centimetres and a thickness of two centimetres. The *mekla'h* — is used for taking the bread from the stove. It is 30 to 40 centimetres sharp pinned wood. The *taboun* stone is the seat for the baker to sit on. It is a big round stone. Sometimes other similar seats are also placed around the *taboun* structure.

How the *Taboun* is Used

There are two stages to preparing for baking. *Taqeed taboun* is placement of the stove or *Beit Aish* in its permanent position. *Dayran taboun* is the stage of heating the *taboun* and preparing it for use. The two operations are described by a woman who spent much time baking with *tabouns*. She said: "After finishing the construction of the outer shack and making the stove with its lid, we would dig a hole in the ground 70 centimetres deep. Then we placed tree trunks in the hole and let them kindle for three days. After three days, the burned trunks were glowing embers. We took some embers from the hole and put them aside. Then we sprinkled one kilogramme of salt on the fire. The stove would then be placed over the hole. Broken olive pits, animal manure and the glowing embers would then be placed around the stove. This operation was repeated every three days."



ABOVE: Palestinian women squatting outside the traditional *taboun* oven. BELOW: The traditional Palestinian meal — *taboun* bread, onions, tomatoes and olives as drawn by artist Suleiman Mansour.

Stages of the *Taboun's* Heating

The word *sibel* refers to the animal manure and kindling which are burned to heat the *taboun*. *Tazbeel* describes the action of putting the manure, kindling and olive pits around the stove after removing the ashes from the lid. *Tazbeel* is done twice daily — once at dawn, and once in the evening.

Heating the *taboun* requires six stages. Each stage determines the state of the *taboun*, whether or not it is usable. The six stages are the following:

1. *Doubet Mazbal* starts immediately after placing the manure, the olive pits and kindling around the stove. There is no fire yet. At this stage, the *taboun* is described as cold, which indicates that it cannot be used.

2. *Muases* happens when the fire is lit and smoke begins to move up from the stove. The *taboun* is also not yet usable at this stage.

3. *Mudakhen* is the stage where a lot of smoke billows out of the *taboun*. The spiral shape of smoke columns can be seen from afar.

4. *Mutasaqet* is the stage when some manure, kindling and olive pits become embers. The smoke has died down from the previous stage. However, the heat has not yet reached its maximum degree. It is advised not to use the stove at this stage because it affects the burning catalyst.

5 *Met-hadi* is when all manure, kindling and olive pits have become embers. The heat reaches its maximum degree. The embers glow very brightly and are reflected on the stove walls, which turn reddish in colour. This is the best stage for baking in the *taboun*.

6. *Hamed*, when most of kindling, manure and olive pits have burned down and gone out, becoming dead ashes. The heat fades. Once again, the *taboun* is described as cold.

Practical and Social Uses of the *Taboun*

Kana'neh classifies the various uses of *Taboun* into two main categories, the practical and the social. The practical uses are divided into principal and secondary. The *taboun* is principally used for baking bread, cakes, *manaqish* (bread with oil and *Za'atar*, or thyme), *musakhan* (chicken smothered in onions, sumac, and oil) and *Qedreh* (rice and meat). It is also used for barbecuing and roasting baked potatoes, chickens, eggs, acorns and chestnuts. The secondary benefits include the production of ashes or soot which are later mixed with sand and limestone to make cement for construction. The soot can also be used for washing dishes and canning olives. Mixed with kerosene, the ashes have a palliative effect when used to treat wounds. Mixed with olive oil, the soot is used for blood coagulation.

The *taboun* also has a social function. It serves as the meeting place for neighbourhood women and relatives. The village women sit in groups around the *taboun* and talk, exchanging rumours and village news. The lady of the house can encourge or discourage cooperation among relatives, friends and neigbours by allowing or not allowing them to use her *taboun*. Finally, it is occasionally used for having love affairs, because it provides warmth, darkness, protection from rain, and the opportunity to fabricate sensible excuses.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The Lebanese assault on the Palestinian refugee camps going into its fourth week continues to attract the primary attention of the local Palestinian press.

Arabic papers in the occupied territories covered the military and the political developments on the Beirut front in depth. All papers sharply criticised the weak Arab reaction that was evident at the Arab League meeting in Tunis.

Settler and government harassment of the recently released Palestinian prisoners continues to receive prominent coverage in the local press.

These Days...!

As is the case every year, the Arab regimes are quick to issue statements on the anniversary of June 5, 1967, and June 4, 1982. They condemn the Israeli invasion and some add their condemnation of the American support of that invasion. But these statements lack any reference to the responsibility of most of these regimes for the continuation of the consequences of the invasion and the fact that our people remain under occupation for the eighteenth year, deprived of their right to self-determination.

Worse still is that these regimes, or most of them, consider themselves free from any responsibility. They even consider the US free from any responsibility and a neutral mediator who seeks to push the 'peace process' as claimed by the rulers of Amman, Cairo and other Arab capitals.

All those who placed their cards in the American basket are serving the aims of the Israeli invasion in 1967 and 1982. They even facilitate the task of the American and Israeli rulers in retracting on their positions presented in the wake of June defeat. They even adopted a harder line against Palestinian rights. A simple comparison between what those rulers are ready to accept now and what they were offered in the wake of the defeat confirms this retraction by America and Israel. It also proves that the policy of these [Arab] rulers since 1967, is not directed to regaining the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the Palestinian rights. Otherwise, how could we explain the aggression on the camps now and the previous aggressions, and the Arab insistence on following the same policy that was a major factor in the defeat?

This is a fact that should be absorbed by the Palestinian parties which align themselves with one Arab regime or the other at the expense of their alliance with the revolutionary regimes.

AL TALI'A
June 6

National Unity Once More

The talk by the Palestinian Right nowadays about national unity is really a continuation of the misleading policy that leads to surrenderist solutions.

The masses of our people who know the Palestinian Right quite well, will next be misled by its talk. These masses demand that the Palestinian Right stop its political march first of all.

But the Right is continuing with its march and is preparing for negotiations with the US administration as a first step for direct negotiations with Israel.

National unity is not a tune to be played when one feels like it. It is a sacred conception.

AL MITHAQ
June 6

The Missing Peace Factors

There should be many factors on both the Arab and the US-Israeli sides if the peace process is to be pushed forward. When we say there is a tendency toward peace among the Arabs we do not mean all the Arab countries. But there is a common denominator among the Arab countries: they all realise that war is not the way to solve the crisis in the area.

What about the other side? Just yesterday, the Israeli prime minister made known his reply to Shultz's message. The reply rejected the two ideas presented by Shultz. Peres rejected any dialogue or negotiations with any Palestinian personalities who are members of the PLO. He also excluded the idea of an international conference as a framework for peace negotiations. This Israeli reply is in line with the views of the Likud hardliners. It gives no hope of any improvement in the Israeli position.

As for the US, the pressure from the Jewish lobby leaves it no freedom for action as an objective partner. Therefore it has no credibility with the other side.

So, the other side, Israel and the US, are still far from being convinced of the inevitability of peace and that the time factor does not serve the cause of peace. It serves the elements that call for violence and destruction. These are the same elements that sabotage the peace opportunity.

AL QUDS
June 7

Attending the Meeting Bashfully

The UN Security Council condemned the terrible massacre. But the Arab League council is still bashfully preparing to meet today. We say 'bashfully' because the meeting is to be held 19 days after the beginning of the aggression, and because not all Arab countries declared their intention to participate. Some of these countries, foremost among them Syria and Lebanon, even fight and oppose the meeting on the grounds that the issue is an internal Lebanese affair, and perhaps because the call came from Arafat.

We Palestinians, through our long experience, realise that resolutions will not stop the tears of the grieved Palestinians and will not stop the bleeding.

The Arab countries could stop the slaughter if they wanted to. At least they could condemn it and show solidarity with the Palestinian people by responding to the call.

Anyway, the Palestinian masses everywhere ask the Arab countries attending the meeting in Tunis, if there is such a meeting, to take a firm stand in condemning the massacres. It should be noted that Libya's participation is far more important than the meeting itself because it is considered a condemnation of Syria's position from an ally of the Syrian regime.

AL FAJR
June 8

Wide Horizons

We feel comfort when we read or hear the statements made by leaders of various Palestinian factions. They all emphasise the need to reinforce national unity. And they are agreed on condemnation of the Syrian role in the camps massacres.

This closeness in the analysis of the challenge and the agreement on the Palestinian nationalist basics open new horizons for the resumption of the national dialogue and the restoration of unity within the PLO.

The fighters in the camps realised that unity is the sure guarantee to confront the conspiracy. They cast aside their differences and united to defend their very existence.

Fatah, the Democratic Alliance and the Popular Front called for resumption of the dialogue. This call is a masses' demand. It does not stand any further delay.

AL SHA'AB
June 10

The Cold Attitude

We did not expect from the Arab League Council more than an 'even-handed attitude.' We did not expect this 'tribal' council to condemn the murderers, or reveal the true proportions of the conspiracy. We also did not expect the Syrian regime to abide by the resolutions of that council.

Why, then, was the emergency session held? The main reason perhaps why the PLO insisted on convening that council is to confront the shame that covers the faces of the Arabs. Silence prevailed over the Arab capitals. So, the PLO thought it could burst that silence. We have never expected more than the League council did. But still the resolution is a historic one. It makes clear that the Arab people will one day move to issue their correct decision.

AL FAJR
June 11

Peres' Statements Don't Prepare the Ground!

Despite all the talk in the West about Peres having a real intention for peace in the Middle East, all indications show that he and the unity government want peace on Israeli terms only.

Jordan and the PLO have been trying to set the ground for peace during the past three months. But Israel went on hindering the efforts and placing obstacles in their way. Yesterday, Peres declared ideas that are not new. Though he stressed the need for negotiations without prior conditions, he set his own condition, the exclusion of the PLO.

The second Israeli condition is that negotiations should be conducted outside the context of an international conference. What is striking in Peres' statements is that he stressed the need to conduct negotiations with those interested in peace and not with those interested in the continuation of disagreement — meaning the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Peres called for the appointment of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

We do not know who these Palestinians are. For all Palestinians, whatever their tendencies, are ready to participate — *provided* that they are endorsed by the PLO. If Peres and others want peace, they should turn to the PLO and the international conference.

AL QUDS
June 11

In Bid to Expand Control

SLA Kidnaps 21 UNIFIL Soldiers

Efforts to free 21 Finnish soldiers who have been held since June 7 by the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) continued this week with little success. The 21 Fins are members of an 6800-strong UN peacekeeping force stationed in South Lebanon.

While Israeli and UN officials contend that an agreement to release the 21 Finnish soldiers can be quickly reached between the SLA and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), SLA Commander General Antoine Lahad is adamant about his condition for their release. Lahad demands that the Lebanese Shi'ite Amal movement release 11 SLA members he claimed were handed over to it by Finnish soldiers on June 7. The capture by Amal of the 11 soldiers is what sparked this new wave of hostilities between UNIFIL and the SLA.

SLA men first abducted five Finnish UNIFIL soldiers June 7.

The deadlock between Amal and the SLA is expected to continue despite efforts by UN Undersecretary General Brian Urquhart who is currently in Israel to mediate this problem along with other outstanding differences between UNIFIL and Israel. UNIFIL wants to extend its control in south Lebanon to the Israeli border, while Israel wants to reduce the area of control for UNIFIL and give the SLA a larger role.

The Jerusalem Post reported June 12 that "Israel may allow UNIFIL to deploy southwards to the Israeli borders ... in return for UNIFIL's recognition of the SLA." The *Post* reported that Defence Minister Rabin told Urquhart in their June 11 meeting that "UNIFIL's recognition of the SLA as a legitimate force is crucial to its ability to function in south Lebanon."

Arab League

Continued from page 1

Reports from Beirut, however, said Druze leader Walid Jumblatt does not want to get engaged in open confrontation with Amal, with whom he has had an alliance since the Israeli invasion of 1982. The reports said the fighting between Amal and the Druze, which began when Amal militiamen prevented PSP supporters from entering the Lebanese University Law School, was contained following quick consultations between Amal and Druze officials.

Tension in the Druze-Shi'ite relationship was heightened because Palestinian gunners stationed in Druze-controlled areas around Beirut used their positions to shell Amal strongholds in southern Beirut. The Palestinianguns, manned by members of the National Salvation Front (NSF), a coalition of Palestinian factions opposed to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, have been taking an active part in the "war of the camps" by trying to relieve the camps from continuous Amal shelling.

George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the major faction in the NSF, continued his condemnation of Amal for shelling the camps and hinted that Amal "would not have dared to attack without tacit approval from Damascus." Habash, speaking during a tour of Arab Gulf countries, said the NSF is not interested in getting bogged down in a confrontation with Syria but only in bolstering unity between the "Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian steadfast triangle."

While Amal is trying hard to defeat the Palestinians, its positions are being further shaken by attack from Murabitoun militias that have inflicted heavy losses among its ranks. Murabitoun communiques said its militias are carrying out daily commando raids on Amal positions. It is believed Amal's losses have so far totalled over 500 dead and many more wounded since the fighting began May 19.

June 14

Market: National Products Market sponsored by the Jerusalem Electric Company union at the union headquarters on Nablus Road. Daily until June 18, 10:00 am till 11:00 pm.

Workshop: Children's theatre workshop, sponsored by the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre Jerusalem. Tel: 288189. 10:00 am to 5:00 pm.

June 16

Field Trip: Children's field trip to visit Palestinian art and craft centres, Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre. Tel: 288189.

June 19

Workshop: "Children's Puppet Theatre," sponsored by the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre Jerusalem. Tel: 288189. 10:00 am — 2:00 pm.

Knesset

Continued from page 1

month, ended in a 10 to 9 vote May 30 aginst revoking his immunity.

Eitan, who is known for his ultra right-wing views, then asked the Knesset Committee to cancel Mi'ari's parliamentary immunity to travel freely and to be exempt from body searches and arrests.

During the debate on the PLP leader, Eitan succeeded in focusing the discussion on Mi'ari's attitude towards the PLO. Mi'ari told reporters that the Knesset Committee wanted him to denounce the PLO and to denounce violence by the PLO. He said he refused to denounce the PLO, but he did express his opposition to "all acts of violence or terrorism, from both the Palestinian side and the Israeli side." *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily, the DFPE newspaper, criticised Mi'ari for this stand because "he equated Palestinian violence and Israeli violence."

Mi'ari's explanation was apparently unacceptable to the Knesset Committee, which decided to go ahead with the vote. The decision was taken by a majority vote of 14 to 6, with one abstention. Of those who voted in favour of the motion, seven were Likud MKs, four Labour, two National Religious Party (NRP), and one Tehiya. The six votes against the decision came from the Communist Party led DFPE, Mapam, Citizens Rights Movement and Shinui, in addition to two Labour MKs. Another Labour MK abstained.

The decision will now go to the full Knesset for approval. If the measure is approved, Mi'ari would be subject to police harassment, including detention, body and home searches, and prevention from travelling anywhere the police do not want him to go.

Mi'ari, who is serving his first term in the Knesset, described the Knesset Committee debate as an attack against the Palestinian people. He told *Al Fajr* that the decision will not curtail his movements and activities. "I did not keep silent before I became a Knesset member, and I will not keep silent now," he said.

Following the voting, the DFPE issued a statement condemning the decision and pledging to fight it in the Knesset. "This decision turned the Knesset Committee into a court trying MKs for their political views," the statement said. It also directed severe criticism at Labour MKs for failing to confront the "provocative stand by Likud MKs."

The DFPE statement also rejected the comparison between the decision against Mi'ari and the restrictions imposed on MK Meir Kahane, who represents the racist Kach Movement. The statement said that the restrictions on Kahane were imposed because of his dangerous activities and not his inflammatory statements. Kahane was restricted a few months ago, following his repeated attempts to go to Arab villages within the 'green line' to urge residents to emigrate.

Since its establishment, the PLP, a joint Arab-Jewish list which Mi'ari represents along with Matti Peled, has been severely harassed. There were attempts on the eve of the 1984 elections to outlaw the list and bar it from running in the elections on the grounds that it supports the PLO. At the time, a similar measure was imposed on Kahane's Kach party. Both appealed to the High Court and won the right to run.

Tawfiq Toubi

Continued from page 7

here for our rights. We will fight to *change* the situation here to the better. To a better future of a new relationship between the Jewish people, the people of Israel, and the Palestinian people. And there can be, by their own free will, other developments, not seclusion and separation but more cooperation and more understanding of each other and more common life, and this can bring forward new perspectives for the benefit of the two people."

On whom he represents: "I see myself as a representative of the working masses of the country, Jews and Arabs, we expect and look forward to the success of our struggle on social and political issues. At the same time, I feel myself as a representative of the Arab population in Israel who support *en masse* the Communist Party, now the DFPE. And as such, I see myself as representing the Arab population in their civil national aspirations, and as such I have acted all these years.

"It is natural that the Arab population, the Arab national minority in Israel, find in the Communist Party its spokesman, its supporter, since the foundation of the state, against the policy of discrimination, land acquisition, depriving the Arab population of equal rights in employment and social services, nationally oppressed, and at the same time, finding in the Communist Party and its political programme for just peace — supporting the national rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination, against the policy of the Zionist ruling circles — the pro-imperialist, the anti-Arab, the occupationist policy — our party has been upholding this flag, fighting against this policy of the ruling circles, their pro-imperialist, aggressive role in the Middle East. The Arab population sees the position taken by the party — which, by the way, we say is in the interests of both Arabs and Jews, because in the long run we consider that the policy of the ruling circles in Israel, the pro-imperialist, the aggressive, the anti-Arab, the denial of the Palestinians is not only — it *is* directed against the Arabs, but in the long run, we consider it as a tragedy for the Jewish people as well, depriving them of the possibility of peace, leaving Israel to exist on violence and tanks...

"The whole foundation and establishment of the party is on the basis of equality amongst human beings. I feel a free man, equal to my bomrades, Jews, Arabs, in an atmosphere of friendship and equality."

On the Communist Party's achievements for the Arabs in Israel: "Everything connected to the struggle of the Arab population in Israel, since the formation of the state of Israel, is part and parcel of the activity of the Communist Party in Israel amongst the Arab population, in its press, in its social activity, in its political activity. And this includes: the fight against expulsion; facing the designs of uprooting the Arab population in Israel; the struggle for land against the requisition; the struggle against military rule, which lasted until 1964; the fight for the rights of the Arab population — for elected councils, for their national character; maintaining the national characteristic, in culture of the Arab population; the new generation that was brought up to know themselves, who they are — all of this.

"Landmarks are the national conferences, congresses, the strikes, Kufr Qasem, the Land Day. We don't monopolise anything. But we are proud that we helped mobilise all healthy forces to fight, to struggle. And we played a very important role in initiating, mobilising the people, in *all* their battles, all their fights.

"But all that was done during these 36, 37 years is the product, of course, of the fight of the people themselves, their courage. Of their resistance in various ways. But we have been the seat, their ferment, their motor. And you see, when we look back on all these years, things could have been different in the early 1950s had it not been for the fight, the savage fight, to stay, to have your roots deep, not to concede to terror and to all manoeuvres to send you beyond the borders together with the refugees — this was our battle for life. Now these years are forgotten. But they were historic years from which came the basis for what we now have, and we are proud of: 600,000 Arabs living, staying, deep-rooted, educated, knowing who they are, part of the Palestinian people, fighting proudly for their rights as equal citizens of the country, of the state.

"Now, when we look upon our youth, and see what youth we have whom we are proud of, then we can feel a little bit satisfied from what we have done for our people.

On the ideal future for the Arabs in Israel: "There should be a change of policy towards the Arab population in all fields. There should be a new approach, a new policy towards the Arabs. A policy based on dealing with the Arab population as equal citizens of the state. It is a question of policy, of orientation, of budget, allocations, not just a question of another department or another institution in the government establishment. It is a question of opening the government offices for employing educated Arab youngsters — the graduates — without any considerations of defense, security. This is what should be done..."

On his role as an MK in the peace process: "As an Arab MK, I think the best way I can personally promote peace in the region is to continue what I have been doing." ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

Devout Muslims came from all over the country to pray at the al-Aqsa Mosque on Friday during the holy month of Ramadan./AO photo.

June 5, 1985

2 PRISONERS FREED MAY 20 RE-ARRESTED

Two Palestinian prisoners released in last month's prisoner swap have been re-arrested, Israeli Prisons Commissioner Rafi Suissa announced. He alleged that the two, whom he did not identify by name, had committed "offences against the security of Israel."

NABLUS WORKERS CONDEMN AMAL

Workers and employees of the Nablus elected municipality issued a statement strongly condemning "the genocide" waged against the Palestinian people in Lebanon, and expressing solidarity with "our Palestinian brethren in Sabra, Shatila, and Burj el-Barajneh."

QALANDYA CENTRE RE-OPENS

Studies resumed at the Qalandya Training Centre Saturday June 8. The centre was closed last month following a student clash in which a student was stabbed to death.

4 RAMLEH PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Four Palestinian prisoners at Ramleh prison began a hunger-strike June 1 to protest inhuman conditions in the prison. The four are: Fuad Ahmad Awad of Jerusalem, Walid Mustafa Mahmoud of Majdal Shams in the Golan, Faisal Mahmoud Safiyeh of Kufr Yasir and Abdallah Khaled Shinawi of al-Maker.

2 JABALYA MEN JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Muti' Isma'il Abu Ghubun of Jabalya camp to one-and-a-half years in prison or charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and possession of weapons. The court also sentenced Sulaiman Abu Jeais, also from Jabalya, to 40 months in prison on identical charges.

GAZA EXPORTS CITRUS TO JORDAN AT LOW PRICES

The Gaza Strip exported to Jordan this year about 155,000 tons of citrus, with only 7000 tons left for export, it was reported. But because of the low prices in the Jordanian market, each ton is being sold for JD25 instead of the original price, which is about JD55.

June 6, 1985

SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL CONDEMNS AMAL, SYRIA

The Supreme Islamic Council in Jerusalem strongly condemned the aggression waged against Palestinians in Lebanon by the Shi'ite Amal movement and the Syrian regime.

"Who is benefiting from the slaughtering of innocent women, children, elderly, and the destruction of houses?" asked a statement issued by the Council. "Amal is undoubtedly trying to implement what it failed to complete during the Israeli siege of Beirut."

The statement expressed strong condemnation of these "malicious, barbaric acts backed by the suspicious Syrian regime."

CALL FOR HALTING BEIRUT MASSACRES

Palestinian nationalist institutions and leaders in the occupied territories appealed to the Arab League to discuss the continued massacres of Palestinians in Beirut in its emergency meeting in Tunis next Saturday. They demanded that the League "adopt effective measures" to condemn the perpetrators of the ugly massacres (in the camps) — namely, the Syrian regime, the Shi'ite Amal gangs, and the Lebanese government.

ARMY SEALS 3 ROOMS IN QALQILYA

Israeli military authorities sealed three rooms in the homes of three youths from the village of Hablah in the Qalqilya area who allegedly threw petrol bombs at an Israeli bus, a car and the house of a local resident.

TAMUN MUKHTAR'S HOUSE ATTACKED WITH GRENADE

A hand grenade was tossed at the home of the *mukhtar* (leader) of the village of Tamun in the Nablus area, causing damages but no injuries. Israel Radio said army troops cordoned the area after imposing a curfew on the village and while combing it found a petrol bomb beneath the *mukhtar*'s car.

JERUSALEMITE GETS 2 YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

Mohammed Zeid Ghneim of Jerusalem was sentenced to 2 years in jail and 2 years suspended by an Israeli military court in Lydda. Ghneim, who was detained on December 26, 1984, was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation.

RAFAH SHEIKHS WARNED: STAY OUT OF POLITICS

Israeli military authorities summoned several Muslim clerics from the Rafah area in the Gaza Strip this week and warned them not to deal with political issues in their lectures. Some were even asked to sign documents pledging not to get involved in politics.

EX-PRISONER TOLD TO GO TO SYRIA

Members of the Herut Party and Meir Kahane's racist Kach movement are continuing to threaten released security prisoner Daoud Turki of Haifa. Turki received a message two days ago telling him to leave the country and go to Damascus. It was signed by Eleazer Marin, an activist in the Herut office in Kiryat Bam in Haifa.

NO SALARIES FOR STRIKING LAWYERS

The joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee has ceased paying salaries to 52 striking West Bank lawyers. The lawyers, mostly graduates of the year 1979, said they believe the decision is politically motivated.

HOUSE DEMOLISHED

Israeli army bulldozers demolished a house owned by Ziad Fayek Arar in the village of Karawet Bani Zeid in the Ramallah area on the pretext that he did not have a building license. The house was flattened without any warning in advance.

STUDENT CHARGED WITH ABUSING ISRAELI OFFICER

Jawhar Isma'il Abdel Kader, a Bethlehem University student from the village of Beit Awa in the Hebron area, was charged in the Ramallah military court with "reprimanding and abusing" an Israeli army officer.

According to the charge sheet, the incident occured on March 3 when Kader was arrested together with several other youths for allegedly painting graffiti on walls in Bethlehem. The youths were taken to the Bethlehem military governorate where Kader "reprimanded and abused" an officer identified only as Shmuel, the sheet states.

SOLDIERS FIRE ON TEENAGED DEMONSTRATORS IN BALATA

Dozens of teenaged youths staged a demonstration through the narrow alleys of Balata refugee camp in Nablus setting fire to tyres and shouting slogans against the almost daily Israeli detention of camp youths. The protestors also condemned Amal and the Syrian regime for the massacres in Beirut camps.

At one stage, an Israeli army patrol on duty in the camp was pelted with stones by the demonstrators. The stones smashed through the windshield of the army vehicle, injuring its driver. The soldiers responded by firing several shots into the air and later at the demonstrators, but no one was hurt. Following this a large force of army troops descended on the camp, raided many houses, and detained scores of youths for questioning.

June 7, 1985

TULKARM SABOTAGE CONTINUES

For the third time in a week, unidentified saboteurs destroyed pipelines and other agricultural tools in the villages of Baka el-Sharkiyeh and Zeita, in the Tulkarm district. Damages are estimated at JD2000.

TRAVEL BAN

Israeli authorities prevented residents of the Tulkarm refugee camp from going to Jordan via the bridges.

June 8, 1985

ARMY VEHICLE FIRED UPON OUTSIDE GAZA

An Israeli army vehicle came under automatic gunfire on the outskirts of Gaza. Israel Radio said no one was injured in the shooting.

June 9, 1985

NABLUS MUNICIPALITY URGES END TO MASSACRES

Members of the elected Nablus municipal council sent a message to Arab rulers and leaders urging them to end the fighting in refugee camps in Beirut.

"The Nablus municipal council denounces these massacres and holds the Amal gangs and the Lebanese army and any Arab regime that backs them fully responsible for the bloodshed," council members said in a statement.

8 YEARS FOR PETROL BOMBS

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Jihad Tamliyeh, Majed al-Mimi and Taha al-Baser, all from al-Am'ari refugee camp, to 8 years imprisonment on charges of hurling petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles.

The court also sentenced Arafat Abu Libdeh to 6 years in jail and Khaled Mohammed Dib to six-and-a-half years in jail on identical charges.

HIGH SCHOOL BOY GETS 1 YEAR FOR STONE

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Akram Mohammed Ibrahim Milhem, a high school pupil from the town of Halhoul near Hebron, to 1 year in jail and 5 years suspended. He was charged with throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

GAZA MAN SENTENCED FOR WEAPONS

An Israeli military court in

Early *Dafour* figs are sold on the sides of East Jerusalem streets./AO photo.

Gaza sentenced Sliman al-Numeilat, 48, from Beit Lahia, to one-and-a-half years imprisonment on charges of possessing a rifle, three guns and ammunition.

June 10, 1985

12 SHOPS SHUT IN NABLUS

The Israeli army closed 12 shops on Faisal Street in Nablus for 3 days. The measure follows a petrol-bomb attack on an Israeli bus in the centre of the city on June 9.

3 GAZANS SHOT

Three Gaza residents were seriously wounded late at night when unidentified gunmen opened fire on them in al-Nuseirat refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. The three — Abd al-Hamid Abu Imallek, 27, Jamal Hassan el-Fiki, 36, and Zuheir Abu Malouh, 30 — were rushed to al-Ahli al-Arabi Hospital in Gaza.

SETTLERS FAIL TO STORM TIREH

A large group of Jewish settlers attempted over the weekend to storm the village of Tireh in the Triangle area, but were confronted by Tireh residents who clashed with them and forced them to leave. A number of settlers were reportedly wounded.

16 YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

Zeid Zaki Ahmad Zeid, 30, of Jabalya camp in the Gaza Strip was sentenced to 16 years in jail by an Israeli military court in Gaza. Zeid was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation, weapon training, and hurling two bombs at the Israeli military and civil administration offices in Gaza.

3 NABLUS MEN GET STIFF SENTENCES

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced three youths from the village of Nakoura in the Nablus district to prison terms ranging from 7 to 10 years on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and weapon training. The three are: Mu'een Mohammed Zreik, 7 years in prison and 3 years suspended, and Rayek Isma'il Ja'afar and Nazir Taha Sa'ed, 5 years in prison and 2 years suspended.

HEBRON WOMEN CONDEMN BEIRUT MASSACRES

Palestinian women from the Hebron district staged a sit-in strike at Red Cross offices in Hebron to protest massacres in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut by Shi'ite Amal militiamen. The strikers called for an immediate ceasefire and an end to the siege. They also denounced Syria's "collusion" with the Shi'ite gangs and the Lebanese sixth Brigade.

JEC WORKERS PROTEST MASSACRES

Employees at the Jerusalem District Electricity Company staged a one-hour strike to protest the massacres in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut.

SYMPOSIUM AT NAJAH

A symposium on "The Palestinian Future in Lebanon" was held at an-Najah University in Nablus. Chief speakers at the symposium were Dr Sa'eb Erakat, Dr Abd al-Sattar Qassem, and Dr Abdullah Abu Id.

SETTLERS ATTEMPT TO STORM EX-PRISONER'S HOME

Armed Jewish settlers attempted to storm the home of released ex-prisoner Sarhan Dweikat in Balata refugee camp outside Nablus, but were chased away by camp residents. The settlers smashed several windows and tried to remove the door before they were expelled.

June 11, 1985

SHAWWA RETURNS HOME

Deposed Gaza Mayor Haj Rashad al-Shawwa returned home at the end of a 20-day visit to the US and the UK, and said the international community is required to back the Palestinian-Jordanian move towards peace.

Shawwa said he will not participate in any delegation not appointed by the PLO "because I reject the principle of distinguishing between Palestinians as demanded by Israel and the US. Any Palestinian in the occupied territories or outside is a member of the PLO."

MASRI SAYS PLO MUST JOIN TALKS

Hikmat el-Masri, president of an-Najah University's Board of Trustees, said in response to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' peace plan that "whoever wants to enter negotiations without pre-conditions must not set his own pre-conditions."

ARMY BULLDOZES HOUSE NEAR NABLUS

Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of Kana'an Mohammed Kana'an in the village of Beit Dajan, east of Nablus, on the pretext that it was built on state land. The 4-room residence was levelled while Kana'an and his wife were away. Israeli army troops evicted their 4 children before demolishing the house.

EGYPT BARS GAZA STUDENTS FROM TRAVEL

Students from the Gaza Strip who study in the Arab University of Beirut have been prevented by Egyptian authorities from entering Egypt on their way to Lebanon. The students were told that examinations at the Beirut University will be held on August 3, and they should come to Alexandria only two weeks before that date.

Kahane

Continued from page 10

Coexistence? Do you expect me to coexist with my cancer? I may have cancer, but do you expect me to be fond of it? Either you remove it or you die. But we have a democracy here — what a laugh!"

"I'm saying what everyone is thinking. There's only one solution. Only one. And it's not a partial solution. ARABS OUT!!! OUT!!! That's the solution." (Applause, chanting: Ka-ha-na, Ka-ha-na.)

"Don't ask me how. Everywhere I go, there's always a crazy Jew around who starts asking me 'how'. It drives me crazy. It gets me all worked up. Let me be the minister of defence for two months and I promise you, there won't be a single cockroach left. I promise you a clean Israel! Give me the support I need to deal with them!" (Wild applause.)

The bystanders, who were chuckling when Kahane began, started nodding their heads in agreement as the speech wore on. Someone saw my tape-recorder and started yelling: "Kahane, they're taping you. Watch out!" Somebody else lunged for the bag I was carrying my tape in, but a yellow-shirted Kach activist came to my rescue, telling the crowd that I'd received permission to attend the rally. For the meantime, Kahane has ordered his supporters to be polite to journalists...

Tirat HaCarmel, May 12

In Yavneh there isn't much unemployment. The same holds true for Tirat HaCarmel. Kahane did not dwell on the subject during the rallies there. Instead, he concentrated on the town's Arab neighbours.

Kahane: "Good evening Jews.... I'm coming from Ma'alia [an Arab village] nest of snakes and lizards." (Applause.) "Did you notice, good Jews, that when the Galilee was bombarded, not a single shell fell on Ma'alia? Or on any other Arab village? They put up a white flag in the Arab villages, a PLO flag. And our government thinks that the Arabs can all be bought off with bathtubs, televisions and national insurance checks. They get a check for every kid. Two kids — two checks. Ten kids — a checkbook!" (Laughter and applause.) "What are you laughing about? I'm in tears. Jews are scared to travel at night in the Galilee. Listen, I'm saying what you're thinking to yourselves. There's only one solution: ARABS OUT!!!" (Wild applause; the crowd chants "OUT!!! OUT!!!")

Kahane has been here three times since the 1984 elections. This time he has an audience of 500 fervent supporters. Across the road there was a group of bystanders, listening to what he had to say. I was told that neither Moshe Arens or Moshe Shahal managed to draw even a small crowd when they came to Tirat HaCarmel to campaign for the Histadrut elections... The majority of the town voted for the Likud in the last elections, but many residents see Kahane as "the new Begin. Just listen to him," they say, "his every word is true... He's the only one in the Knesset who's doing something."

Ma'alot, May 12

I was also told that Kahane was "the new Begin" in Ma'alot. "He's a second Begin, our Begin..." There were a lot of religious people at the Kach rally. It was a youngish crowd, but it definitely wasn't teenaged.

"In another half-a-year," said Kahane to his audience, "there will be elections. Jews, we don't have much time. This time the choice isn't between Kahane, the Likud, or Tehiya. This time the choice is Kahane or the PLO. For the sake of your children, give me the support I need to go all the way. I'm giving you the truth. You don't believe the corrupt politicians in the Knesset, those leftists who try to brainwash you with all sorts of talk about morality. Who are they to talk about morality? What do they know about morality? Those Mapainiks-Mapamniks-Hashomer Hatzairniks-kibbutzniks — they turned Etzel [a pre-state right-wing underground] men over to the British! What kind of morality is that? I'm not going to let those leftist fascists lecture me on morality. Those fascist leftists. Now they're giving the Arabs your jobs and forcing young Jews to emigrate. They're driving the Jews out of Israel...

"Let me deal with them. If one Kahane can drive them crazy, can you imagine what 10 Kahanes will do to them?"

*

I spent four days with Kahane. I watched him in four different towns. I saw about 2000 of his supporters. Perhaps some of them came to hear the clown who is making life difficult for Yossi Sarid. But a lot of them left his rally convinced.

If you want to get a rough idea of Kahane's electoral potential (not the man — his ideas) try the following at the next social gathering you attend: Ask your friends if they think Israel should hang on to the West Bank, and if so, what they think should be done with the one million Arabs living there. Some will come to it slowly. Others will get straight to the point. "It's not that I identify with Kahane, but..." Then ask them what they think should be done with the Arabs of Israel. Just don't ask them how. (Translation: HaAretz Friday Supplement, May 31, 1985) ■

Tragedy in Beirut Camps

The Shi'ite Amal Movement's siege around Palestine refugee areas of Beirut which began 19 May has left hundreds dead and thousands injured. And thousands more have fled from their homes in Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps and from the Sabra area of the city.

These photos show the living conditions in Beirut of the over 8200 Palestine refugees who have fled their homes during the past four weeks of fighting. (UNRWA Photo)